

# PEACE NEWS

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## ALLIANCES WILL NOT SAVE CZECHS

By Our Lobby Correspondent

JAMES H. HUDSON

THE debate on the Prime Minister's statement on Austria reproduces a political situation very like those which often confronted the pacifists during the Great War.

When the Germans sunk the Cunarder Lusitania, although she was carrying gold and others things to be used in the defeat of Germany, the horror and frightfulness drove every other thought out of the public mind.

We must make no mistake of that sort now. Fortunately, although our own government is doing its best to get a million volunteers for ARP, the likelihood of panic and uncontrolled atrocity-mongering is now only slight, by comparison with what happened in the days of war.

On the whole people realize, or can soon be got to realize, that the Treaty of Versailles left Austria a legless and armless trunk in the middle of Europe, and whatever life the body still retained we proceeded to stamp out by our own tariffs against her trade, and added to the wholesale restrictions practised by other nations.

The Austrians would have been fools if it had never occurred to them that they needed a friend and ally in such a situation. The Anschluss became inevitable. But the Allied wisecracks never saw it.

### JUSTICE WAS NOT DONE

First the French and ourselves, breathing slaughter and threatening, invoked the public law of Europe to prevent what by reason and necessity everyone should have been willing to accord. Then, later, Mussolini bared his teeth at the Brenner.

But justice was waiting and ought to have been done.

The tragedy of the present situation lies in the fact that the whole world has had to wait for an act of tyranny to secure what could so easily have been obtained by reason.

We shall do well to strip this story of any false sentiment.

Hitler's method last week was an outrage. But the story of Austria is one of continuing outrage. Even Schuschnigg, over whom so many tears have been shed in the last day or two, was the inheritor of Dolfuss's foul deed against the Viennese workers.

As I see the situation, this Austrian incident has come like the flashlight of the photographer. The movements and attitudes of politicians at Westminster, seen till then only very indistinctly in the half light, are now imprinted clearly for our examination.

### TALK OF CONSCRIPTION

The Prime Minister wanted still more drive for the further armaments he will need. He evidently thinks this gives it to him.

Sir Samuel Hoare rushed pell-mell to the microphone to make the people loyal

## "I refuse, even at this late hour, to give up the idea of a European Conference"

### MR. LANSBURY ON ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO WAR

#### Lead from Pacifist Convention

From Our Own Correspondent

ANDREW STEWART

"I REFUSE, even at this late hour, to give up the idea of a European conference," declared Mr. George Lansbury at the Parliamentary Pacifist Group Convention held in Glasgow on Saturday.

"We must either have that conference or there will be war, and I do not believe that the conscience of this country will allow the Government to go to war."

Mr. Lansbury was moving the second resolution, which called for a world conference at which economic and territorial grievances may be examined, discussed, and settled by mutual adjustment, welcomed the Van Zeeland Report, and urged transformation of the

wanting to share with the world all we possess.

"It is the only way out. There is no other way."

Mr. James H. Hudson seconded the resolution in a vigorous speech.

"We must turn our backs on our comrades who say, 'No truck with dictators,'" he declared.

"We must have truck with dictators, either on the battlefield or round the conference table—and I choose the conference table."

The conference attracted an audience of well over 700, of whom 300 were delegates from various organizations.

Mr. Emrys Hughes, editor of *Forward*, presided. In his opening remarks he paid tribute to the wisdom of Dr. Schuschnigg in declining to offer armed resistance to the invasion by Germany.

### IF AUSTRIA HAD RESISTED . . .

"If Dr. Schuschnigg had taken any other course," he declared, "we would have had half a dozen of the greatest cities in Europe in flames today. This has a lesson for us: war is the greatest calamity of all that can befall a nation."

The first resolution asserted "the right of every citizen to renounce all participation in and preparation for war," and was proposed by the Rev. James Barr, MP, in a speech crammed full of historical references to the shame and futility of war.

Miss Mary Gamble, seconding, argued the pacifist case from the humanitarian, the commonsense, and the Christian points of view. She appealed to the women of the country to declare that war was irreconcilable with woman's creative purpose.

If the women of the country said there was not to be another war, there would be none.

Mr. Andrew Stewart and Mr. Henry A. Barter, members of the Glasgow branch of the Peace Pledge Union, also spoke in favour of this resolution.

Dr. R. H. Thouless, of Glasgow University, moved a resolution calling for the removal of all preparations (including ARP) and commitments of a military character.

Dr. Thouless said they were opposed to war of every description whether engaged in by the League of Nations or through an alliance of "peace-loving" nations. "A League of Nations war," he maintained, "would be not less but more destructive of civilization, because more nations would be involved."

The Rev. A. C. Craig, chaplain to Glasgow University, seconded.

### PACIFIST MANIFESTO ADOPTED

Many questions were asked during the course of the convention, relating to arms for Spain, the defence of Austria, (Continued on page 2, Col. 1.)

supporters of his precautionary measures which he knows they have till now derided as utterly useless.

And when someone thought the Prime Minister said "conscription" many M.P.s. were heard echoing: "Yes, conscription."

It turns out that it is not conscription—at least, Mr. R. A. Butler says it is not "industrial conscription." And I must add that, so far as I can judge from a careful perusal of Mr. Butler's statement made on behalf of the Prime Minister, there is a pledge against any sort of conscription.

Yet the flash of light showed us certain Labour men, with certain conditions of their own, ready for that, too.

Sir Archibald Sinclair talked about a Council of State and clearly exhibited, like many more on different parts of the Opposition benches, an itch for office in a new "National" Government.

But I don't think much more will be heard of these feelers for a coalition of all the talents, unless war breaks out. Such a proposal would smash the Labour Party from top to bottom.

### QUESTION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The danger of the Liberal leader's speech lay, of course, in its demand that the Government should put up its fists against Italy and Franco at the moment when France is saying let us stand together to fight Germany on the issue of Czechoslovakia.

Indeed, the French government has definitely asked our own for its view on this matter.

This question must be answered not only by Mr. Chamberlain but also by Sir Archibald Sinclair and the liberals and socialists who support him. Most of them are apparently willing to say: We will go to war for Czechoslovakia. The same question must be answered, too, by pacifists.

And we say unhesitatingly, as we have already proclaimed in all the Parliamentary Pacifist Conventions, that the enforcement of our views about anything by means of military alliances leads nowhere but to utter chaos.

Whether it is Austria or Czechoslovakia or Spain, we cannot dodge round the thoroughly unpleasant political and economic consequences of our own misdeeds by a resort to murder.

Politicians of all schools say that to yield to Hitler now a justice we have hitherto denied to Germany will strengthen him in his misdeeds.

Have we weakened him in his wrongdoing by refusing to be just? On the contrary, just at the moment that Mr. Chamberlain vaunts himself in Britain's "terrifying" armed might, menacing enough presumably to save Halifax from having to concede very much to Germany, Hitler moves with his tanks and planes into Austria; and we watch him helplessly.

### CHANGES BY AGREEMENT

Mr. A. V. Alexander, who wound up the debate for the Opposition on the Austrian situation, returned as usual to his party's anchorage in the principles of collective military security. But he is beginning to realize that the party has lost its hold on firm ground and the anchors are dragging hopelessly and helplessly.

He therefore added the wise plea for a revision of the mandatory colonial system and an opportunity for all the nations to secure better access to raw materials and food by agreement.

This is, of course, part of the claim which the Peace Pledge Union makes in its new manifesto. But we must keep on reminding our Labour friends that it is not much use talking about doing things "by agreement" unless we are frankly willing to meet and negotiate with a view to the agreement.



Sales of PEACE NEWS and pacifist literature were brisk at Glasgow on Saturday

League "with a view to securing a planned world organization for peace instead of for war."

The whole Central European situation, Mr. Lansbury maintained, had arisen from the folly of those who broke up systems in the Peace Treaties and took no care to deal with what they must have known would be the results.

He was no apologist for Hitler.

He thought a crime had been committed in the invasion of Austria, but if France and Britain, when there was a Republican Government in Germany and in Austria, had allowed the union to take place Hitler might never have come into power.

They could have been assisted then, and there would have been a strong, powerful, democratic Germany instead of a dictatorship. One could not do evil without reaping the results of evil.

### THE ONLY WAY OUT

"What the resolution means," Mr. Lansbury concluded, "is that we are saying to the world that we are done with imperialism and that we are now

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pacifist political action, financial reform, etc. Replies were made by Mr. Lansbury and Mr. Hudson.

**The Peace Pledge Manifesto was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.**

The Rev. Ernest Foster, chairman of the Glasgow PPU branch moved the adoption, and Mr. William Niven seconded.

The new Manifesto showed the way, Mr. Niven said, to a nation-wide campaign leading on to a new foreign policy based on economic appeasement and reconciliation.

The old policy involved a continuous competitive race in armaments and military alliances, and led inevitably to war. The new policy would eliminate force from all reckoning and establish a new League based on new provisions which would dispense justice to all.

The Rates Sub-Committee of Salford were recently faced with an increase of £157,526 in estimates. The total would have meant a rate of 20s. 3d. in the pound. Cuts were made to bring it down to 17s. 6d., an increase of 4d. on the previous year—3d. of the increase is required for charges in connexion with air raid precautions.

## MORE TRIBUTES TO "THE FINEST NEWSPAPER"

**M**ORE letters welcoming the bigger and better PEACE NEWS have been coming into the editorial office.

Besides appreciations of the new features and, as one of them puts it, the paper's "reliability," from representative readers, tributes to PEACE NEWS have also come from journalists.

**One of the latter calls it "the finest newspaper I read (and I see them all)."**

Letters have been coming, too, on behalf of groups, while at the recent Peace Pledge Union Devonshire Regional Conference a resolution was adopted conveying "heartiest congratulations" to the Editor.

All this is encouraging, but what of the future? The way forward is indicated in the following two extracts from letters just received:—

The first, on behalf of a PPU group, expresses the hope "that greatly increased sales will result," and adds, "we intend to do our share to bring this about."

The second, from a South Wales reader "who is thrilled to pick it up," and "gloats over it," continues, "I look forward now to a DAILY PEACE NEWS with 1,000,000 readers."

## CONSCRIPTION TALK REVIVED BY WAR DANGER

**T**HE critical turn in the European situation has given an opportunity for further propaganda by those who want conscription introduced in Britain.

It will be recalled that their original hopes were dashed by the Premier's pledge last month that conscription would not be introduced in peace time, during the life of the present government.

The facts related below show how the present situation has been turned to account.

### PREMIER'S PLEDGE RENEWED

**T**HE first shot in the revived campaign was fired by Lord Beaverbrook on Sunday. In his *Sunday Express* he urged the passing of a Defence of the Realm Act, and adoption of a policy of isolation.

In itself the article was not likely to influence many who might be opposed to the idea. But Lord Beaverbrook was quickly followed by Lord Lothian—a Liberal peer of some influence among progressives. In a letter to *The Times* on Monday he wrote:—

We shall do far more to convince Germany and Italy that the time has come for negotiations for a final settlement, which will include a limitation of armaments and economic appeasement, by adopting some form of national service appropriate to the modern air warfare age than by adding to the numerous pledges... we have already signed.

He went on to express his belief that democratic peoples must be ready to place universal national service (for capital as well) alongside universal individual liberty as the basis of society. Lord Lothian developed his suggestion in an address to Conservative MPs on Monday evening.

On the same day *The Times* itself, representing what has come to be known as the "shadow Cabinet," backed up these efforts. In a leading article on the invasion of Austria it drew this moral:—

There will also be fresh support for the movement for a more rapid, effective, and even compulsory organization of the people of these islands for civilian service of the type demanded by modern dangers, particularly that of a panic caused by sudden air raids.

On Monday night the suggestion was again raised by the Premier's request that no one, whatever his preconceived notions, should consider himself excluded from any extension of national effort which might be called for.

This phrase was so mystifying that Mr. R. A. Butler, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, had to explain that Mr. Chamberlain did not mean conscription, and recalled that he had in fact "already given the House a complete assurance on that very point so far as this Parliament is concerned."

### THE ISSUE CONFUSED

In a Parliamentary summary, on Tuesday, however, *The Times* obscured Mr. Butler's actual words. Although this summary declared that "Mr. Chamberlain himself had no such

thoughts in his mind," the leading article had this passage:—

If the nation should decide to make participation in that scheme [for ARP] one of the recognized and lawful duties of citizenship, it would give the world a proof of the determination with which it stands to its principles... Whether the duty be self-imposed individually or collectively, there can be no argument about the objective.

On Monday night Sir Edward Grigg, one of the foremost advocates of conscription, who could have been discouraged privately long ago, returned to the attack in a speech at Northampton (reported at length in *The Times*). He too, used events in Austria to rouse people "to the awful precariousness of European peace," and to "beg" the Government introduce a universal register of the adult population, with liability on all to train and serve for resistance to air attack.

### TO BE AN ELECTION POINT?

Whatever may be the Government's attitude privately toward such appeals as these, so far it is pledged to refuse them.

Should it wish to act on such lines, said *The Times* on Monday, it is the general view that a mandate at a general election would be necessary to release Ministers from this pledge.

But although conscription could probably not be introduced without, or before, a general election, there is a danger that the election itself would be on the issue of an emergency foreign situation, beside which conscription would be a mere detail.

It could then be slipped into an all-inclusive mandate, where it would scarcely be noticed.

In any case the issue is not a separate one, but is part of a whole war policy. As the Peace Pledge Union Manifesto (now officially approved with slight amendments) says:

Britain's increasing military power involves conscription at home, an intensified race in armaments, and military alliances, which lead inevitably to war. We are left with the choice between this and a policy of complete and constructive pacifism.

The whole object of air raid precautions, for which compulsion may come, is first—if not only—a military one. The leading article in *The Times* on Monday, quoted above, indicates this, and the same source reported on Tuesday that

efforts will certainly be made to give a greater stimulus to the air raid precautions campaign, but there is no question of resorting to any form of conscription.

The leader on the same day urged that no penny should be spared or minute wasted until the home population has been

## Public Affairs

### Britain and the new Reich

**T**HE British Government's concern at the absorption of Austria is indirect. The Prime Minister's statement that "His Majesty's Government is always interested in developments in Central Europe" does not mean that we have any military commitments for the maintenance of the independence or integrity of any Central European State.

The Government is concerned over the repercussions of last week's events rather than over the events themselves. Austria was the link between the two poles of the axis, and her absorption by one of the poles suggests some compensation to the other. The nature of this compensation is not yet clear, but it will certainly affect areas that are considered to be British spheres of interest.

### Effect on the Talks

**T**HE Anglo-German talks are temporarily off. For the moment public opinion would not tolerate discussions with the conqueror of Austria. But when the fuss dies down, they will be resumed in accordance with the Prime Minister's well-known policy of "realism."

The position of Italy is more obscure. It would appear that the occupation of Austria took Italy, like the rest of the world, by surprise. But it is fairly certain that the Italian Government knew in advance of the eventual absorption of Austria into the German Reich. Hence Italy's position with relation to Great Britain will be strengthened, and not, as at first appeared, weakened.

### The Austrian Plebiscite

**T**HE Plebiscite which will be held shortly in Austria will show an overwhelming majority in favour of the now accomplished union with Germany, just as the plebiscite which was to have been held last Sunday would have shown an overwhelming majority in favour of independence. This is a fact which political psychologists should ponder over.

Both plebiscites were of the same pattern with the same degree of secrecy, the only difference being that the new one will enfranchise people between twenty and twenty-four years of age—a body which includes the majority of Nazis. Yet there are millions of people who would have voted for independence who in the face of a *fait accompli* will now vote for inclusion in the German Reich.

Plebiscites of this nature always appeal to people's fear of change, and what the majority really votes for is the maintenance of things as they are. It is a grim reflection on the state of the world that the highest hope of millions of people is that things shouldn't get worse.

### Czechoslovakia

**S**UPPORTERS of collective security are beating the air over the independence of Czechoslovakia. It is clear that Hitler's policy is not to invade Czechoslovakia, but to employ methods of peaceful penetration. France has renewed her pledge to assist Czechoslovakia if she is ever invaded, but the pledge is little more than a gesture, as no invasion is contemplated.

The British Labour Party takes a very sanguine view of the situation. At a recent debate in Streatham, South London, between the LNU and the PPU, a member of the audience asked how many people would fight if Czechoslovakia were invaded. The question was followed by a prolonged silence.

Before the Austrian coup, conversations were going on between Germany

equipped with the knowledge and the organization necessary to self-defence against the risk of demoralization and chaos under a sudden invasion by air.

That this was prompted by the fact that in another war civilians would be a military objective, was proved by Wednesday's leading article, with its admission that

it cannot be too often repeated that, unless this country is made safe against the knock-out blow, then wider strategic conceptions will be a waste of time.

No longer need there be any doubt of the truth of the pacifist argument that to take part in air raid precautions is to join up with the war machine.

## Commentary

and Czechoslovakia for the purpose of clarifying certain speeches by Hitler, Goering, Hodza and Benes. Czechoslovakia is in a weak position diplomatically, for most of her export trade has to go across Germany to the free port of Hamburg. Germany is working for a pact with Czechoslovakia similar to that which she made with Poland in 1934. This would virtually be a pact of mutual assistance and would assure for the future a similar neutrality on the part of Czechoslovakia as she showed in the Austrian group.

The Sudeten-German movement is, however, out for bigger things, and wants complete autonomy for the German minority. How this could be achieved is difficult to see, as the German minority is scattered throughout the country, chiefly around the frontiers. It is probable that Hitler will disown the movement, and negotiate direct with the Czech Government. There is already a press pact between the two countries, and a Czech newspaper was recently suppressed by the government for publishing a caricature of Hitler.

### Spain

**T**HE war in Spain is now being fought on 1916 tactics. General Franco has on his side an overwhelming superiority of material and is successfully employing the method of advancing behind a creeping barrage of artillery fire. Against such weapons mere man power is useless.

Italy, freed from responsibilities on its northern frontier, is going all out to win the Spanish war as quickly as possible. Germany is also helping with technicians and aeroplanes. Recent types exported from the Halthuser Quay in Hamburg include Junker 52, Heinkel 3, 51, and the more recent and more powerful Messerschmidt Falke and Brummer planes.

### Reorganization of the Army

**E**VENTS on the Continent have overshadowed Mr. Hore-Belisha's speech last Thursday on the Army estimates. For the first time an indication has been given of the purpose to which the Army would be put in war-time. The speech confirms the late General Crozier's theory that the British Army will never again leave the shores of England.

In the course of his speech, the Minister for War outlined the functions of the Army in order of importance as: air defence, internal security and coast defence. The grim significance of "internal security" needs no underlining.

### Mechanization

**F**OR many years the Army has been the last stronghold of the chivalrous sword, but now it is to be brought into line with the deadly efficiency of the other services. The strength of the Army will no longer be counted in heads, but in the more realistic units of fire, power and mobility.

At a period when the country is being rapidly mobilized for war, the establishment of the Army may well be reduced. For as the War Minister observed, any personnel above the minimum necessary for efficiency is only an additional target for the enemy. Modern war is fought as much in factories and offices as in aeroplanes and warships.

### Ballot on Eden

**T**HE Council of Action's ballot on the rival merits of Eden's and Chamberlain's foreign policy is sadly disappointing its promoters. They have even less signatories than was obtained some years ago in a petition to stop old horse traffic to Belgium. As Galsworthy, who was interested in that petition, used to say: "It was a noble campaign." The Council should have been warned at the beginning of their campaign by its experience at Leamington when Mr. Eden made his speech. There were over 2,000 Eden supporters there, but the Council got less than 200 signatures for its petition.



# INDIANS WANT FREEDOM FROM BRITISH RULE

## Military Domination Means Misery for the People

### CONGRESS GIVES A LEAD

From a Correspondent

En route by train to Itarsi, Central Provinces.

**T**HE INDIAN Congress is over for another year. What a tremendous event it was! Such a gathering is of paramount significance for it is the mighty voice of a great people asking for the birthright of every human being—freedom.

What can we say to these people from whom we withhold the power of self-determination—who through us cannot develop their own democracy?

While millions starve or perish from disease, British authorities spend 73 percent of the revenue of India on maintaining a system long since obsolete.

The capitalist-imperialist system in India cannot survive. Anyone travelling in the villages can see that quite clearly. Nothing but cooperative effort can save the situation or improve it in any way.

Generally speaking, the Congress has set out on this progressive road, guided by the genius of Mr. Gandhi. I have heard it said in England that Gandhi has lost ground, that Congress is a waning power.

#### CONGRESS FLAG FLIES EVERYWHERE

Actually the reverse is the case. The Congress flag flies everywhere. Gandhi's name is revered by the hundred million and, what is more, his words are more and more understood, his policies increasingly adopted.

To visit Haripura (where the 200,000 Congress delegates assembled) was to realize this. It was an astounding bamboo city in the middle of a dry and dusty jungle on the banks of the Tapti.

A wonderful way of propagating political ideas—to take the parliament to the village; to draw people from all over India to a one-time obscure village.

Afterwards, on the train from Haripura to Bosawal, the crowds gathered to greet him at every station were evidence of Mr. Gandhi's great following. There was no need to advertise his passing through a village. They seemed to know by instinct. No newspaper need be called in to work up popular interest. His reception was spontaneous and genuine.

So his influence spreads through the land—non-violent but victorious. The mighty organism of Congress is actuated by his idealism.

#### WHAT BRITISH RULE MEANS

His triumphal procession reminded me of one of quite a different nature which I witnessed the other day.

Policemen seemed very numerous all along the line, on stations and at all salient points. There were no crowds except crowds of policemen. Later on our train was stopped and there passed on the opposite rails the luxurious special of His Excellency the Viceroy.

What a contrast!—Gandhi, real ruler of India, travelling third, accessible to all, living as and with the people; the Viceroy, earning 24,000 rupees per month, with a train to himself.

I remembered this as I heard the plaintive pleadings of numberless beggars, old and young, girls and boys, blind and lame, disheveled and ill fed. I thought of it again as I traveled nearly 900 miles by rail and found only one station where food was at all palatable and drinking water at all attractive.

The Congress—ministers of State all live and travel simply. I was travelling with a minister for education and he,



SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE,  
President of the Indian National Congress

too, agreed that these facts were real reflections of British rule in India.

We fell to discussing Subhas Bose's wonderful presidential speech to Congress, in which he quoted the budget allocation of 57 percent of total expenditure to the army and gave the Governor-General eighty percent of the finance to control.

The new constitution gives Indians a fifth of their own money to spend on the essential services of education and rural uplift and the hundred and one jobs clamouring to be done. And we are deceiving ourselves that we have granted India a great blessing.

Subhas Bose said that the future of the world depended upon the attitude of the English people to India's claims. "India free," he said, "will be humanity saved."

#### Militarism Rejected by Paris Mass Meeting

On the night of Wednesday of last week—a few hours before M. Chautemps resigned the French Premiership owing to the refusal of the Chamber to grant his government wider financial powers—a mass meeting took place in Paris to protest against:

The arms race, which is leading to ruin; The "sacred alliance," which may lead to war; and

All militarization of conscience.

The meeting had the support of a number of well-known writers and pacifists, and was called by the International League of Fighters for Peace.

In view of the drive for further militarization groups of French pacifists are intensifying their activity. In *La Patrie Humaine*, their weekly newspaper, one such group sums up the present situation in these words:—

At a time when the betrayal by the so-called workers' parties goes beyond repair, and when the arms race swallows more and more of the country's resources, it is essential for those whose consciences remain alive to sound the alarm and to denounce unceasingly the absurdity and the folly of such an attitude.

Another group reports that one of its members who attended a public meeting arranged by Popular Front parties put forward some searching questions. Some of these were completely ignored—in particular one relating to the sentence imposed on Louis Loréal, editor of *La Patrie Humaine*, for advocating war resistance.

#### '... TOLD BY AN IDIOT'

An all too topical tragedy  
IN THREE ACTS

By EVELYN KINGWOOD

2/8 post free The Westox Press, Taunton

#### —APPETIZING—

A light interlude, amid columns of fulminations against Russia and full reports of British rearmament (without comment), in the German newspaper "Völkischer Beobachter."

THE Hanover S.A. will hold a soldiers' day on March 6

Naturally, there will be the usual single-course meal, but this time with hors d'œuvres. But can this really be done on "single-course Sunday"?

Yes, for these hors d'œuvres are for the eye, not the stomach. All the population is to be admitted to barracks, to see the living quarters, stables, and armouries.

And everyone will be allowed to ride, shoot, or even take part in parades! That will give them an appetite for their vegetable soup!

#### A League of American Nations

"A League of American Nations" is a proposal which has been filed with the Pan-American Union by two Latin-American republics, Dominica and Colombia.

A committee of the Union, consisting of Peru, Mexico, Panama, and Uruguay, has the proposal under consideration.

The proposed League would not organize collective military action against aggressor States, but would recognize the jurisdiction of the Hague Court in cases of deadlock.

"If you lead us into war in the Far East, we will not support your administration in that war. It will not be our war. We cannot fight it." This is the warning given to President Roosevelt in a letter sent to him by the National Council of Methodist Youth, which protests against new armament plans, against the killing by the U.S. Government of the proposal for a national referendum before declaration of war, and against war-mongering in the Far East.

#### How Austrian Workers Saw the Crisis

From a Correspondent

VIENNA, March 10.

THE situation here is very interesting and no-one knows what will happen next or how far the "Anschluss" (union with Germany) has already gone.

The workers are not united as to whether they should support the present government or not. The Catholics should have approached them four years ago. Now it is too late.

Why should they pull the chestnuts out of the fire for their oppressors?

Will it be much worse for the workers under a Nazi government?

On the other hand, this seems the last opportunity of doing something for the independence of Austria, and ought they not to put aside their party loyalty for a larger loyalty to Austria? Such are the questions which are being asked.

#### CHANCE TO VISIT CENTRAL EUROPE

"It is a great help to have contact with peace workers from other countries at the present time," writes an English pacifist in Vienna, in connexion with the visit to Vienna last week of Henri Roser, of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

An opportunity for pacifists from England to visit Austria and Czechoslovakia will occur next month. The Prague FoR is arranging a meeting at Znaim, Czechoslovakia, at Easter.

It is expected that a group will leave England about the beginning of April, stay ten days in Vienna, attend the Znaim meeting from April 16 to 18, and arrive back in London on April 20.

In Vienna arrangements have been made for meeting groups and individuals of different views, visiting places of historic interest, and studying social conditions.

The cost will be from £12 to £15. Particulars can be obtained from Mrs. K. M. Campbell, 64, Storey's Way, Cambridge.

## CRY HAVOC!

"HOW can a man build a house," asks Beverley Nichols in his famous book, "when the very soil is trembling beneath his feet?"

Today the soil is trembling with a vengeance, and any kind of real security seems a myth. Take the investor: where, in these troublous times, can he safely place his funds?

There are not many answers. It is hard to find anything better than a good Building Society. A man may hesitate to build a house, but we must always have homes; and savings secured on the homes of the people are safe.

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## HEADQUARTERS' NOTES

By Max Plowman

JUSTICE is usually regarded as the right remedy for a person or persons suffering from a sense of injustice. That it should be, sounds reasonable; but personally I doubt it. A crack on the head is not healed by the payment of a fine or the imprisonment of the crackers. And is the successful litigant in a law suit automatically made a better citizen by winning his case? I am inclined to believe that in nine cases out of ten he is made a worse.

Lord Hewart, in the execution of justice, recently ordered two young men to be flogged. Justice, of a kind, without a doubt. But do we live in a safer, happier and less criminal society thanks to the rigour of the law? I do not believe it, partly because it was noticeable that just after this flogging—carried out, unhappily, not by the Lord Chief Justice himself, but by some wretched executioner of British law—there were renewed outbreaks of robbery with violence. Justice easily overreaches itself, and, though we cry out for it, becomes what we do not want. It is with us as with children, who are outraged when they feel the pangs of injustice. They want justice, but over and above it, actually need mercy and lovingkindness.

"Mercy and lovingkindness." The frightful thing about the world we live in, and the modern mind that rules it, is that to this modern mind the very words convey nothing more than sentimentality. "Give us justice, and to hell with your charity," shouts the modern mind, little knowing that if the justice it demands were done, this same mind would create the very hell to which it assigns the thing it needs. And if proof of that be required, the Russian trials are there for our learning. The Peace of Versailles was an attempt at justice on the part of the Allies. That it failed of its object is common opinion today; but we do well to remember that many persons of sound judicial mind honestly considered, at the time, that the treaty erred on the side of mercy. Justice, in their eyes, clearly demanded the Kaiser's head and the occupation of Berlin. In fact, international justice is such a pedant's mirage that it is not upon the score of injustice that the Peace Treaty is even now to be condemned.

It was damned in the drawing-up, and has been the prime cause of the present welter of animosity, ruthlessness, and hostility, precisely because it embodied a ruthless sense of justice and thus lacked the essential qualities of any peace treaty—mercy and lovingkindness.

The world now bristles with counter-demands for justice, and in the name of national justice, rapacity prowls over Europe and Asia like a hungry wolf. The frustrated of twenty years ago now seek to overcome their constrained sense of inferiority by acts designed to demonstrate their will to superiority. And we, alarmed at the off-spring of our own sense of justice, forge again the Sword of Justice, again in the name of self-defence. Why, only last week, had we not our new-found Recruiting Officer, Mr. Hore-Belisha, crying up the pre-eminent virtues of a soldier's life with all the persuasiveness of one who might have fought the last war to defend, instead of to destroy, "militarism?"

And in view of White Papers and Eden crises and Austrian crises, the pacifist gets impatiently asked whether he believes the mere effort to do justice by the have-not nations stands the remotest chance of producing peace. Well, we are not waiting for reply. It is this. If justice now stands for reparation of injustice, let us make it at all costs. And, for God's sake, let us do it speedily—not merely in the interests of peace, but for the sake of that honour which exists beyond national interest. But do not let us think to obtain peace merely by the exercise of justice, because nothing will ever create peace but mercy and lovingkindness by those who have the power to exercise them.

What is to be said about the programme of more and more and faster and faster bombers—"in the interests of peace?" Words fail to describe the blasphemous insanity of such a peace policy. And words will as certainly fail to describe the hell of war which such a policy brings nearer.

Mercy and lovingkindness. What might they not do to decrease the inflated credit of swollen dictators who have waxed so fat upon a dish of ostensible injustice? Generosity, plain and undisguised, shown to the people of Italy and Germany, would inevitably deprive their human megaphones of the persistent sounds of national frustration and national injustice by which alone they carry conviction. Does British statesmanship dare to reduce these monsters of our imagination to their normal size as men among men? I submit that the attempt would be a saner and more practical policy than trying to increase the supply of fighters and bombers till they outnumber the stars of heaven; for today the only effective purpose of war is the creation of hell on earth.

## GROUP NOTES

By John Barclay

IN spite of the depressing nature of the news from so many parts of the world, it is still possible to retain a vision of the "shape of things to come." The fact that a thing appears in headlines two inches deep does not make it necessarily important.

There are changes taking place under the surface which, because they are fundamental and totally revolutionary, may easily become the headlines of tomorrow. I believe this not because I am an optimist but because the simple facts stare one in the face.

I am not surprised that Hitler and Franco do what they do, but that the Niemöller's and the Lutheran pastors exhibit this courage under these conditions. Surely the power of such men proves that the human spirit is proof against the fascist tyranny.

The dictator creates depression while Niemöller gives us hope. The Peace Pledge Union is composed of groups of men and women not specially chosen for their qualities of courage and endurance but samples of the courage and endurance which is in all of us. It is because this movement is self-formed and self-elected, drawn from all religions and none, able to conform to an ideal without compulsion, that I think it represents the greatest force in the world today.

It is possible to lose faith if one considers oneself different from others, but the truth is we are of that great body called the man in the street and "we are many, they are few."

Pacifist groups are the fore-runners of pacifist communities and we can, if we dare, create the pacifist state. An individual pacifist reaching this state and realizing the imperative need for co-operation joins in with group work determined to give what in him lies to increase the power of pacifist thought and inspiration.

It is here that the complete renunciation of the individual is demanded. To create the will to peace is not more impossible than to create the will to war and the peace fever, unlike the war fever, is based on the belief in the fundamental goodness of human beings.

How much time and money is the individual prepared to give to this task? On this answer depends the future success of the movement to prevent war. I think we are growing at the rate we are in group formation largely because we are asking for sacrifice.

There is a growing desire to participate in active team work and, although some groups complain that members are slow in this respect, the influence of Regional Committee work is breaking down the loneliness of isolated groups and helping to create a united fellowship.

Last week's meetings at Kendal and Morecambe, to which over one thousand people in each place came to hear George Lansbury, are an indication of the group influence in the neighbourhood. The dynamic centre is always producing results which in themselves will be productive of further extensions.

Training is essential, and it is true to say that where group training is part of the regular work of the PPU that district shows the greatest results.

Next London group leaders' meeting is on March 29 (week earlier than usual), 7.45 p.m., in King's Weigh House, Duke Street, W.1.

Information wanted about shipping—particularly services flying the Panama Flag—in connexion with work for certain refugees. Get into touch with the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

City group "at home" now meets from 12-2 on Fridays. Bring your lunch. Tea obtainable. All invited.

Contributions toward Lambeth Library's copies of PEACE NEWS would be greatly appreciated from any group in this Borough. Send to R. A. Hembry, 124 St. Louis Road, S.E.27.

Wanted: volunteers for poster parades. Newton Abbot (March 26, 3.30 p.m.); Torquay (April 9, 3.30 p.m.); Exeter (April 16, 3.30 p.m.). Write E. C. Maddax, 39 Manor Road, Newton Abbot.

Groups wanting film show before the summer apply as soon as possible. Dates still vacant are:—March 19, 20, 21, 22, 26, 27, 28, April 2-6, and 13-30, except 19 and 29.

Four Basque children at Basque House are still unadopted. Would anyone like to adopt one?

In future, Headquarters library will be open only at specified times, from 1-2 p.m. and from 6-8 p.m. each day. Until this system, which requires the help of voluntary workers, is in full working order, the library

## News from the Four Corners

### CHESHIRE

Pacifism is flourishing at Wallasey. Local groups are studying the Van Zeeland Report and several special teams have been formed, including a Drama Group, a Speakers' Group, and a Press Group. The first group has already produced a programme of three one-act plays which is having a very favourable reception at local Church Guilds, &c. The Speakers' Group addresses meetings of all kinds on the peace question and takes part in public debates, while the Press Section contributes a forceful article on "Constructive Pacifism" to the local paper each week. Yet another special team has been successfully engaged in penetrating Sunday schools, clubs and missions, and a splendid "World Friendship" Exhibition, planned, built and organized by the local members, was seen recently by several hundred children. Reports like this show the essential difference between an "organization" and a real live "movement."

### LONDON

Balham is a group active in opposing ARP. Two members of the Wandsworth Borough Council, one a member of the PPU, attended the first meeting in the group's new headquarters, Trevenna Hall, recently.

### MIDDLESEX

Enfield Region continues to go ahead. They have recently brought out their first issue of *Regional News*, which, as they say, "is a contribution toward the achievement of the unity among those who live within the region." Good luck, Enfield.

### NORTH-WEST

Queues began to form one and a half hours before last week's meeting in the Royalty Theatre, Morecambe, was due to commence. One thousand were seated in the theatre, while 400 were packed into an overflow meeting in another hall. The meetings were joined by loud-speaker. George Lansbury addressed the main meeting for 55 minutes and, on sitting down, was cheered for three full minutes by an audience which was by no means wholly pacifist. He was supported by Canon Denis Fletcher, with John Barclay in the chair. The collection totalled £26, while a further £25 was obtained from tickets. Literature was in great demand. Over sixteen dozen PEACE NEWS were sold, together with all available copies of the Dick Sheppard appreciation.

George Lansbury was also given a great reception at Kendal. He addressed two meetings, a mass meeting of over 1,000 and a small overflow meeting. He was accompanied by John Barclay, who travelled in place of Canon Stuart Morris. It was a splendid meeting and incidentally made quite a profit!

### SURREY

A keen member of the Territorial Army assisted John Barclay with his duties as MC at a successful dance organized by the Thornton Heath group last week. Many PPU groups were represented, including Chelsea, Blackheath, Belsize Park, and Wimbledon. The whole affair was consequently very much "PPU," and many people remarked upon the happy atmosphere. One girl (not a member) was evidently surprised to find that everybody "looked quite normal!" Incidentally, we are assured that the Territorial's help was entirely voluntary, so it would appear that Thornton Heath members are well on their way toward commencing a group in the Chelsea Barracks!

### WORCESTERSHIRE

Great interest was aroused by a public meeting at Oldbury. Some three hundred people attended and the local paper devoted two and a half columns to an exhaustive report of the speeches. The Oldbury group is following this success with a campaign against air raid "precautions." A member who is on the Council leads the opposition with great effect, and it is believed that Oldbury is about the only town refusing to adopt the measures. The chairman of the Library Committee is also a member of the PPU group, and it is hoped that a place will soon be found for PEACE NEWS.

## PEACE PLEDGE UNION WHAT IT IS

THE Peace Pledge Union welcomes within its ranks all those who accept the pacifist doctrine no matter what their method of approach.

The activities of the Union are not confined to the comparatively negative activity of registering the names of those who are in opposition to war, but include the organizing of constructive work for peace.

Pacifists all over England are being trained in small groups for the achievement of a fully developed peace mentality so that they may be able to spread the doctrine of pacifism not only by propaganda but by personal example.

### — AND NOW —

Copy out on a post-card this pledge:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign your name and address and send it to:—

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION  
96 Regent Street, W.1  
who will be pleased to answer any questions.

## THE NOTICE BOARD

will be open as follows: 1-2 p.m. on Mondays, Tuesday, Wednesdays, and Fridays. 6-8 p.m. on Fridays. The librarian will be glad to hear from anyone willing to work at any of these times: 1-2 p.m. on Thursdays; 6-8 p.m. on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays.

Volunteers required for poster parades every Saturday. Meet sixth floor at 96 Regent Street, at 6.45 p.m.

Birmingham wants more P.N. sellers each Friday, one hour or more between 4.30 and 9.30 p.m. Write Wilfred S. Burt, 3 Innage Road, Northfield, Birmingham.

Members and friends in West Kent Region invited to ramble, March 27, 10.15 a.m. from Gravesend Central Station. Length 12 to 15 miles. Organizer, John Haynes, 16, Frensham Road, New Eltham, S.E.9.

Will any PPU member or friend who could undertake translation work from English into Norwegian get into touch with the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

Volunteers needed for office work in connexion with PPU. Apply in first instance to 17 Featherstone Buildings, London, W.C.1.

All in London who would be willing to put up delegates to annual general meeting for night of April 2, write John Barclay, 96 Regent Street, W.1.

All welcome at prayers for peace at All Saints, Blackheath, S.E.3, 7.30 p.m., every Monday. Once a fortnight prayers are followed by a conference.

PPU meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., in Beacon Café, Hanworth Road, Hounslow (near Congregational Church).

Concert in aid of Spain and China refugees, March 19, 8 p.m., East Ham Baptist Church, E.6.

Collecting Boxes for use in raising funds for the PPU must be obtained only through group leaders, who can get them from 96, Regent Street, W.1.

Week-end School, May 28 and 29, Heathmount Hall (Friendship Holidays Association Guest House), Ilkley. Write Denis Riley, 13 Beech Avenue, Horsforth, Leeds.

## PEACE PLEDGE UNION

New Signatures to the  
Peace Pledge—

Will Group Leaders receiving these please check that they are  
**LEGIBLE and COMPLETE**  
before passing them on to  
Headquarters?



## Under the Oak Tree

By THEO WILLS

(on behalf of the Basque Fund)

**VAYA VERANO!** Hurrah for summer! The Basque children have weathered their first winter in England! I trust we do not crow too soon, but this marvellous weather is going to our heads, both Spanish and English.

As last year waned, there was curiosity in our little Spanish colony to see what an English winter was going to be like, and some innocence of its possible treachery. Threats of confiscation of pocket-money had to be held over some of the girls' heads to make them change their pretty summer frocks for less seductive winter ones, and occasionally one of the boys had the notion to appear in the bleakest weather wearing only a thin shirt and trousers.

On the whole, however, the children say that English weather is like their own. On a day of dull haze a lass at my table pointed out of the window and said "Bilbao weather." They did feel the pinch at times. But nobody has been really down with a cold and we have had no serious winter illness whatsoever.

There was delight when the snow came. One had to round up one's class from the garden where they were rolling big balls across the lawns. "Monigotes de nieve" (snowmen) were made, and there were "guerrillas con bolas" (snowfights). The English lesson that day was all about snow.

But now it looks as though we are through the worst. The crocuses are out, the flowering currant bursting, and soon the big cherry tree outside the kitchen door will be a cloud of immaculate blossom.

And—I tell you this at risk of incurring the wrath of an anxious committee at Headquarters—the other day a lively band of our children took our old road of last summer to the river, and some half dozen of the more stalwart ones were allowed to bathe. How's that for starting early?

P.P.U. Members on

### A.R.P.

I WAS glad to read the article on victimized pacifists in *PEACE NEWS*, February 5, (page five) because the subject has been on my mind for some time.

As I see things the P.P.U. is now confronted with its Waterloo in the shape of A.R.P. It is a major issue, for I believe that if the members of the public become A.R.P. conscious, conscription will follow almost without opposition. And if that happens people will not be in the state of mind to listen to pacifists.

In my opinion now is the time for a great pacifist onslaught. Are we going to miss the opportunity? We can make people see the futility of A.R.P. if we use enough of the right kind of propaganda.

At a recent meeting of the group to which I belong we decided how we would financially support our members who in all probability will be losing their jobs through not supporting A.R.P. where they work. I imagine that this has been considered by many live groups. I think we should deal with the matter in the following way:

We should recruit from our ranks a number of single men, good pacifists, who are willing to "work like the dickens" for the cause; men who have given up their jobs rather than be coerced into A.R.P.

We should pay them enough to keep them and their dependants. They should be organized to go wherever A.R.P. is being boosted, carrying out the intensive propaganda that cannot be carried out adequately by ordinary group work. These efforts would be supported by ordinary members.

I suggest that the upkeep idea could be supplied by: 1. A levy on signatories (3d. a week would support many volunteers); 2. Money from the Dick Sheppard Fund.

GEO. J. D. CHILVER.

8, London Road,  
Clapton, E.5.

### Policy and the Pledge

While agreeing with Hugo Rey (*PEACE NEWS*, March 5) that "an internal change that consists in the renunciation of violence as an instrument of policy," is the "heart" of the P.P.U., I do not agree when he goes on to say "the renunciation of violence provides a criterion of method, not of policy."

It is the violence inherent in capitalism and nationalism which breeds the further violence of imperialism, leading inevitably to world war. We live in a capitalist society, in which capitalist interests dictate policies. Then it surely follows that we who have renounced violence must "sponsor a programme of reform," i.e. a policy which shall achieve its end—world peace—by non-violent means.

This, I submit, does not "relegate the peace pledge to a subordinate position" but



Some of the delegates from twenty Devonshire towns and villages, who were at the Peace Pledge Union conference at Newton Abbot, reported in last week's *PEACE NEWS*.

Copies of this picture can be obtained from Mr. E. C. Maddax, 39, Manor Road, Newton Abbot, price 6d. (postage 1½d.)

### Easter Youth Conference

This year's youth conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation will be held in Lindisfarne College, Valkyrie Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex, during Easter weekend.

The subject of the conference is taken from the foundation statement of the FoR—"A World Order based on Love."

Particulars may be obtained from the Youth Secretary, Richard C. Wood, FoR, 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

promotes it to one of the highest positions words can occupy—a stimulus to action.

If the "Peace Front" will be dissipated, as Hugo Rey asserts, by the P.P.U. becoming "merely (my italics) a political party pledged not to use violence in the attainment of its object, and not to go to war if elected to govern," then either there is no real peace front or the word "peace" has ceased to have any meaning.

"AGNOSTIC."

Sutton Coldfield.

### Nazi Influence Closes Another Bruderhof

THE Almbruderhof in Liechtenstein, which provided a temporary home for young men from the original Bruderhof in Germany, who had resisted conscription, is to be closed down following the growth of Nazi influence in Liechtenstein.

As was the case when the German Bruderhof was closed some months ago, members of the Liechtenstein community hope to unite with the English body at the Cotswold Bruderhof. Permission for this has been given by the Home Office.

The whole story of the present situation, made still more critical by events in Austria, which faces the members of this Christian community is given in a leaflet obtainable from the Cotswold Bruderhof, Ashton Keynes, Swindon, Wiltshire.

# The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1

## "THINGS WE WANT YOU TO KNOW" (Mar. 19, 1938)

Classified List of Leaflets and Pamphlets published by us with Reference Numbers for use when ordering.

### Air Raid Precautions

- C 1\* Futility of A.R.P. (See also A 24)
- A 33 A.R.P. A message to every householder  
(new edition replacing Green Leaflet)

### Humorous

- A 30 Mrs. Higgs and Mrs. Nobbs
- A 31 Mrs. Higgs, Pacifist
- A 32 A.R.P. (verse).

### War Resistance

- A 26 Do you think they are right?

### Sanctions

- C 12 Sanctions

### Physical Fitness Campaign

- A 24 If you want to be Fit

### Peace Pledge Union

- A 25 P.P.U. What it is
- A 28 Peace Pledge—are you prepared?
- B 22 Constructive Pacifism

### Theory of Pacifism

- B 19 Dick Sheppard's Candid Letter
- A 34 WAR the personal problem (Latest)
- E 18 What are you going to do about it?  
No. 1
- D 14 Is Pacifism Scientific or Sentimental?
- E 8 An Open Letter
- E 9 The Complete Pacifist
- F 5\* Encyclopædia of Pacifism
- C 16\* 100,000 Say "No"
- C 17 The Pacifist believes
- C 10 Memorandum on Avoidance of  
Violence in the control of Insanity

### Political Aspects

- B 21 Political Basis of the P.P.U.
- A 27 Democracy
- D 13 From War to Peace
- D 7 Fascism comes like this
- C 11 Pacifism and Civil War

### Religious Aspects

- C 15 Should a Christian Fight
- C 3 Conscripting Christianity
- C 4 Christian Pacifism & Rearmament
- D 2 God or the Nation

### Rearmament

- B 20 The New Target (illustrated)
- B 23 Four Steps to War
- D 6 Meaning of Rearmament

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A thought-provoking leaflet which expresses delightfully his vision and confidence

DO put this into the hands of every man and woman in whom you have an interest  
1/- per 100 10/- per 1000  
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- C Nos. 1d. per copy
- D Nos. 2d. "
- E Nos. 3d. "
- F Nos. 6d. "

PLUS  
POSTAGE

\* Indicates price is net—others subject to discount for Group Leaders

### THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION.

The Members of the Group  
are requested to meet at  
on \_\_\_\_\_ at \_\_\_\_\_ p.m.  
Secretary.

POST CARDS as above

6d. per 100 (Postage 3d.)

FUTURE REFERENCE



## Education

## Text-Book Revision: What the League Has Done

This concluding instalment of an article by Bernice Dainard Gesie, from the American journal "School and Society," reviews the work of the League of Nations in the removal from school text-books of matter likely to be a danger to world peace.

THE awareness of so many governments and international bodies (of whom but a few were mentioned last week) of the desirability of eliminating passages likely to compromise international understanding was a healthy sign pointing to an eventual broad concept of world amity.

The efforts were scattered, however, and concentrated in specialized groups or areas before the League of Nations provided a clearing house for such efforts in its International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation organized in 1922. This committee was appointed with the idea of

the promoting of collaboration between nations in all fields of intellectual effort in order to foster a spirit of international understanding as a means to the preservation of peace.

The International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation in Paris was founded in 1924 as the executive organ for the committee.

The chronology of the progress in text-book revision as it has related to the League of Nations begins in 1920 when the Japanese Association of Members of the Teaching Profession requested the League to organize an international council of education which would have as one of its functions the critical examination of school text-books.

This request was supported by the Workers' Educational Association in London in November, 1920, and was again laid before the League on September 12, 1921, by eight Japanese associations. In 1920 the French Association for the League of Nations had submitted to the Council of the League a proposal concerning education which included as one object "To control and eliminate errors or offensive expressions concerning other countries from the handbooks and educational works of every nation."

The passing of the Casares Resolution by the League in 1925 was the first practical response of the League to these requests.

This resolution, named for the Spanish member of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation who proposed it, provides a procedure whereby National Committees of Intellectual Cooperation may direct the attention of the national committee of any country to questionable passages in history text-books used there, submitting suggested changes.

The national committee so approached was to decide whether the request should be accepted and, if so, what overtures should be made to authors or publishers toward an emendation of the text. The original procedure made no demand upon the national committees for explanation of their failure to act or to get actions from publishers.

From the time of its passing until 1932, the Casares Resolution was applied in but three known instances, two complaints lodged with the French committee about geographies, one from Spain and the other from Hungary, and a third from the German Committee to the Belgian in regard to an elementary history text.

The passages referred to in the Spanish complaint were suppressed by the author. The Belgian committee forwarded the text of the next edition of the book to the German Committee asking if it were satisfactory and what further changes would be suggested. No answer was forthcoming.

An exhaustive report was prepared by the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation and published in a French edition in February, 1932, and in English in 1933 under the title *Revision of Textbooks and International Understanding*. This provides a comprehensive survey of the whole field from 1919 to the date of publication.

A Committee of Experts, appointed on recommendation of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation to study this report and submit conclusions as a basis for action, met in 1932. In an

C. A. RADICE tells of a

## MURDER IN A BOAT

PUBLIC speakers and writers on the peace question often assume that the use of police force is similar to and justifies the use of force by the League of Nations.

This parallel is based on a fallacy which is supremely dangerous because it seems to justify collective war, under League direction, against a State that is supposed to have no justification for aggressiveness.

The following parable, which is a true story, explains this fallacy.

A MAGISTRATE in India, responsible for law and order, had to decide on the case of a crew of young athletes who were accused of murder.

The district was intersected by great rivers and every village had its racing canoe, manned by thirty paddle-men, to pit against those of neighbouring villages at the annual feast of the first rice harvest.

A very keen rivalry had grown be-

between the accused and the representative paddlers of another village, a challenge had been sent and accepted, and a race arranged in preparation for the great day.

The accused had been defeated the year before and had planned that if they could not win this year in a preliminary test they would attack the victors with heavy cudgels and so disable their rivals as to prevent them from winning on the day.

They hid heavy staves in their boat, they were defeated, and had used the bludgeons with such effect that one of the opponents had died.

The police asked the magistrate to publish an order in all villages owning racing canoes, prohibiting the carrying of heavy staves in boats. They tried to secure peace through disarmament just as the League of Nations has tried and failed to secure disarmament.

The magistrate was not convinced that the order would be obeyed, suspected that it might be applied unlawfully, and thought it probable that the bad blood was due to some grievance.

He decided to hold an inquiry and was rewarded by discovering that this praiseworthy sport had degenerated into feuds for the lack of any central organization to draw up rules and to arbitrate and decide disputes.

His attempt to form a district racing association was taken up enthusiastically and soon removed the grievances.

From the very beginning of the career of the League of Nations a similar mistake was made. At the very first meeting of the Assembly steps were taken to arrange for a "disarmament" conference but none were undertaken to create an authority to decide disputes or to remove grievances.

The Disarmament Conference failed but the Permanent Court of International Justice has won great respect, prestige and success; the very fear that has prevented disarmament has made the umpire welcome.

Unfortunately British attachment to the principle of national sovereignty, British refusal to accept "third-party judgment," even that of the Permanent Court, has prevented the utilization of the Court in disputes of vital importance to great Powers.

C. A. RADICE.

## SEX IN THE SERVICE OF WAR

THOUSANDS of young men in the schools and colleges have recently recorded their determination not to participate in any war their respective governments may declare.

In spite of this stand, informed observers believe that half of the eligible male students would immediately volunteer and that the other half would be forced to enlist by the reproachful glances and taunts of girl students.

At the present time, our [the U.S.] government operates, at taxpayers' expense, hundreds of Reserve Officers Training Corps units in high schools and colleges. In order to popularize this activity, young girls are elected as honorary officers or sponsors. The duties of the sponsors are pleasant.

Wearing a smart uniform, she stands with the training officer and the college president in the reviewing stand during parades. Sword at side, she makes tours of inspection, observing neatness of uniform and correctness of carriage. Her disapproval is more effective than anything a mere man could say.

HOW WOMEN HELPED

DURING the World War a pretty young woman assisted the recruiting officer at a midday meeting downtown by giving a kiss to every boy who volunteered. Newspapers reported a "kiss gauntlet" organized by college girls for the benefit of new recruits.

The many-sided, confusing nature of warfare makes it possible for the financial interests who promote wars to remain obscurely in the background, hiding behind the skirts of women.

American women were not in danger. American loans were.

But propaganda made the women think they were in danger. It flattered their vanity to think that young men were willing to fight for them, and it

flattered the young man's vanity to think there was some young woman for whom he could fight.

That was the general idea, but American youth had been making progress. The old game did not work so well, as the first 26 days of American participation in the World War showed. During this period, when it might be expected that enthusiasm would have been at white heat, only about 48,000 men volunteered.

Then came conscription (for the army), in spite of which the sex trap continued.

WOMEN IN THE NAVY

THE navy actually enlisted young women to serve in clerical and other office work. They wore a specially designed navy uniform.

One result, or perhaps purpose, of this was to exert a certain pressure for enlistment on the young men with whom they associated in the office or outside the office. How could an idealistic young man refuse to volunteer when his girl friend was actually enlisted in the armed forces of this country?

The girls must not be blamed too severely. They did not know that they were serving the interests of high finance. For them it was high romance.

Some things these young girls did not know. They did not know that they were sending their young men into the grave danger of venereal infection and that warfare makes use of another kind of woman. (Some armies officially provided prostitutes).

It seems likely that if the mothers, sisters, wives and sweethearts of the world could see this phase of warfare there would be fewer wars. At least there would be less bait in the sex trap.

ROBERT A. HALLIBURTON.

In "Common Sense" (U.S.A.), February, 1938.

## Films

## FORGOTTEN MEN

La Bandera. Everyman Cinema, Hampstead.

I CAME out of the Everyman Theatre wondering where I had seen pictures like these before. Suddenly I knew: in the pages of Pierre Loti in the country of Fatou Gay—cette région morne, ces plaines de sable qui ne finissent pas avec de baobabs, de loin en loin.

The burning grey nostalgia of this region of North Africa has been wonderfully caught by the cameramen of La Bandera.

In the art of picture-making the French reign supreme. As in *La Grande Illusion* and *Le Garnet du Bal*, the grouping of the figures is a thing of beauty.

Into this dry and sunbaked land we follow breathlessly the fortunes of a soldier of the Legion.

The acting of Jean Gabin is always a joy—so easy and natural, yet so taut, that, in a flash, it springs flame-like to fiercest intensity. The portrait of the spy is a marvellous piece of work, whilst Annabella's creation of the Arab woman reaches perhaps the highest level of all; it would have been so very easy to over-act.

Once again, we move mid the shadows of war. This time it is *The Song of the Dead in the South*, of the "Legion that never was listed"—the Ishmaels of the world who meet death with a jest, who have, as their captain tells the spy, "earned the right to be forgotten."

The words of Euripides rise instinctively as the curtain closes:—

Many things God brings to be  
Past hope or fear;  
And the end men looked for, cometh not,  
So has it fallen here.

The Story of a Disturbance. Everyman Cinema.

Teachers of Matriculation classes would be well advised to draw the attention of their pupils to this film. It makes clear a subject very difficult to grasp by the aid of a text-book only.

It also shows that science, in the hands of an expert, can be made to explain visually, in a most delightful manner, the wonders of the universe.

A. WHITEHEAD.



## Speaking Personally

BOOKS and  
WORLD PEACE-3

**D**URING the Great War itself, Utopians, realists, and "debunkers" alike were all but silent. The products of those four abnormal years, when hysterical propaganda ran away with judgment and experience, fell mainly into two categories; the literature of romance and the literature of escape.

Such work as Rupert Brooke's *Poems*, Donald Hankey's *A Student At Arms*, and H. G. Wells's *Mr. Britling Sees It Through* emphasized either the glory of war or the inspiration of civilian sacrifice.

When at last the prolonged strain defeated even the most impervious of sentimental optimists, escapology took the place of romance. Who now remembers the war-time "best-sellers," by means of which we drugged our exacerbated nerves into endurance?

I can recall the name only of one, Stephen McKenna's *Sonia*. The rest have disappeared into the limbo which swallows those writers who seek to conceal rather than to interpret the significance of their time.

\*

**O**F the vast post-war literature we have probably not even yet acquired a true perspective. Arnold Bennett once declared that the permanent literature of the Great War

## NEXT WEEK

we shall publish the first of the next three articles under the heading "Speaking Personally," written by

**WILFRED WELLOCK**

(Many readers will be glad to learn that a series of three articles by J. Middleton Murry will appear very soon.)

would not even begin to appear until twenty years after it ended.

Some day, the author of a new *War and Peace*, writing with a detachment unattainable by us who are still blinded by the tragedies that we have seen and deafened by the explosions which we have heard, will illuminate the second decade of the twentieth century as Tolstoy illuminated the first two decades of the nineteenth.

Meanwhile, in addition to the intensity of feeling and language characteristic of most war literature, there is one generalization which we can make about all of it, whatever the country of its origin or the type to which it belongs.

Never before, in the world's history, has there been so universal a condemnation of war proclaimed by the leading writers of many countries in so great a variety of literary categories.

Whether the author is a grim and ruthless realist like Henri Barbusse, Erich Maria Remarque, Richard Aldington, William March, or Humphrey Cobb; a poignant and tragic realist like R. C. Sheriff, Siegfried Sassoon, or the Zweigs; an epic realist in the grand manner of T. E. Lawrence; or a "debunker" such as C. E. Montague and Brig.-Gen. Crozier in *Disenchantment* and *A Brass Hat in No Man's Land*, respectively; he—and too infrequently

Final instalment of  
**VERA BRITAIN'S**  
article

she—uncompromisingly denounces the suffering, waste, grief, and stupidity of war. The few books—such as Yeats-Brown's *The Dogs of War*—which perversely seek to do the opposite, have acquired no public and achieved no significance.

\*

**W**ITH the recurrent crises of the past seven years has come a new interest in the literature produced by war experience, but this interest no longer centres in the realistic novels of trench life.

It has rather transferred itself to the biographies and autobiographical fiction produced by authors who attempt, like Storm Jameson in *No Time Like the Present*, to relate their personal stories to those changing world movements and tendencies described by George Eliot as "the larger destinies of mankind," and to treat the Great War as one catastrophic episode in a world where civilization itself is now at stake.

So far, literature of this type is only in its experimental stage. Confronted with a menace even more appalling than the tragedy which many of us who are not yet old still vividly remember, its future function is suggested by some words quoted by Julien Benda from Malebranche's *Meditations Chrétiennes*: "There are a few just men who prevent me from sleeping." Benda himself indicates the purpose of this galvanizing process: "Peace... will not be the abstaining from an act, but the coming of a state of mind."

\*

**I**F the primary task of modern writers is to create that state of mind, they can still learn from the masters of historical literature the three main methods by which this saving obligation may be fulfilled.

Like the author of *The Trojan Women*, they can tell the stark truth about war—whether in Flanders or Gallipoli, in Abyssinia, Spain, or China—so that those who experienced shall never forget, and those who have never known may understand. Like the authors of *War and Peace* and *The Dynasts*, they can seek to act as interpreters between conflicting groups—between nation and nation, capital and labour, the old and the young—which without some intermediary find it difficult to understand one another.

Or they can try to present, like the Hebrew prophets, the planners of peace and the architects of a City of God, some constructive picture of a finer civilisation, a new Jerusalem, a better England, France, or America in which men and women will no longer be dominated by ancient slogans and old traditions, but will at last become capable of understanding facts and looking truth in the face.

If the literature of to-morrow can reinterpret for a perilous age these major functions of the past,

"Angels Unite"—3



"You don't seem to cut much ice down there, anyway!"

Drawn by ARTHUR WRAGG

## "A SOLDIER IS A YAHOO..."

wrote England's greatest satirist 200 years ago

—and we have banished his books to the nursery

Poor Nations are hungry, and rich Nations are proud; and Pride and Hunger will ever be at Variance. For these Reasons, the Trade of a Soldier is held the most honourable of all others: Because a Soldier is a Yahoo hired to kill in cold Blood as many of his own Species, who have never offended him, as possibly he can.

**T**HESE are not the words of a modern politician on the haves and have-nots, or of the Minister of War launching another appeal for recruits; but the words which Jonathan Swift put in the mouth of his Gulliver 200 years ago.

Two centuries of warfare have passed since England's greatest satirist wrote *A Voyage to the Houyhnhnms*, wherein Gulliver describes the horrors of war to his incredulous and sickened master:

And, to set forth the Valour of my own dear Countrymen, I assured him, that I had seen him blow up a Hundred Enemies at once in a Siege, and as many in a Ship; and beheld the dead Bodies drop down in Pieces from the Clouds, to the great Diversion of all the Spectators.

At this point his master interrupts Gulliver with the comment that "... when a Creature pretending to Reason could be capable of such Enormities, he dreaded lest the Corruption of that Faculty might be worse than Brutality itself. He seemed confident, that instead of Reason, we were only possessed of some Quality fitted to increase our natural Vices.

Nor is this an isolated passage. Swift concentrates his satirical powers on war in other voyages of his hero, and so makes it clear that even in the eighteenth century a sincere Christian could not reconcile mass murder with his creed.

Thus, in *A Voyage to Brobdingnag*, Swift sends Gulliver among the Giants, and for the purpose of his satire displays

there remains at least the possibility that it will not be our civilization which will go down in ruins, but war itself that will pass away. (Reprinted by courtesy of the "Saturday Review," of New York).

mankind as "the most pernicious Race of little odious Vermin that Nature ever suffered to crawl upon the Surface of the Earth." Gulliver, in order to ingratiate himself into the King's favour, tells of the invention of gunpowder:

That we often put this Powder into large hollow Balls of Iron, and discharged them by an Engine into some City we were besieging; which would rip up the Pavement, tear the Houses to Pieces, burst and throw up Splinters on every Side, dashing out the Brains of all who came near. . . .

Gulliver offers the secret to the Brobdingnagian; but the King was struck with horror and amazement that "so impotent and groveling an Insect as I" (adds Gulliver) "could entertain such inhuman Ideas."

And did Swift anticipate the rise of the modern dictator when he wrote in the *Voyage to Lilliput*, "the Books of the Big-Endians have been long forbidden, and the whole Party rendered incapable by Law of holding Employments?"

With an irony which transcends that of Swift's we have relegated the immortal Gulliver to the nursery.

When the National Government embarked upon its unprecedented expenditure on armaments, we had not had time to forget how the ship of State was saved from the rocks of bankruptcy a few years before by meanly sacrificing the unemployed and the social services to the City of London.

Mr. Chamberlain was also aware, perhaps, of the inconsistency, and so he endeavoured to allay fresh fears of financial disaster by coolly remarking that the burden of £1,500,000,000 would be tied up in small parcels and distributed among the generations yet unborn.

Jonathan Swift had anticipated this kind of folly in 1711, when in his pamphlet, *Conduct of the Allies*, he condemned the folly, waste, and expense of war:

It will, no doubt, be a mighty Comfort to our Grandchildren, when they see a few Rags hang up in Westminster Hall, which cost an hundred Millions, whereof they are paying the Arrears, and boasting, as Beggars do, that their Grandfathers were Rich and Great.

EDWARD L. GILES



# PEACE NEWS

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.  
Give your pledge on a postcard:—

**I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.**

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96, Regent Street, London, W.1.  
March 19, 1938.

## A POLICY FOR PEACE NOW

**O**NE of the shortest wars in history was fought and won last week.

On March 11, in the afternoon, the Austrian Chancellor received an ultimatum from Germany demanding delay of the vote "for a free Austria" which was agreed to. This was followed by a German demand for the resignation of the Chancellor and the appointment of a virtually Nazi Austrian Cabinet, which was also agreed to.

The same night, HERR HITLER's deputy himself was in Vienna, German troops were in Austria, and that country had ceased to be "free and independent."

**O**H YES, the "war"—like all wars do—really began long before the "outbreak." The words of the Vienna correspondent of *The Times*, in reporting the last phase of the Austro-German war, are interesting:

The Austria of DOLLFUSS and SCHUSCHNIGG—the Catholic-fascist Austria that by force suppressed Parliament and the powerful working-class movement four years ago—collapsed tonight under the threat of force.

Those words are something more than a mere paraphrasing of "Those who live by the sword shall perish by the sword." They sum up, in a single example, the ghastly theme song of European history since the War.

Typified in Austria at every stage of its difficulties, and now, appropriately enough, brought to a crisis there, it has been the miserable story of one opportunity after another missed by the so-called victors of the Great War—opportunities of making a real peace.

**Y**ET, despite the war situation in Europe (and, let it not be forgotten in our excitement the still probably greater danger to us in the Far East), there exists a policy which holds more hope of peace—even now—than the policy of meeting threats with threats can ever hold.

except that they would endow not only this Look first at the alternatives before us.

Those who control the policy and affairs of this country would have us control a force that will overwhelm any country that might wish to do to us or our possessions what Germany has done to Austria.

Those who claim to be the only alternative to the present controllers of policy say the same, country but a number of countries collectively with the "overwhelming" force.

It is true that, as a sort of aside, the opposition are suggesting and, belatedly and in an atmosphere of alarming uncertainty, the Government is attempting some form of reconciliation.

But what does the Government's effort amount to? The very uncertainty of the basis, let alone the subjects, of the Anglo-Italian talks must compel those who seek peace to give this effort whatever benefit there may be of such doubts. It doesn't, however, relieve them of the duty of keeping a very sharp eye on events to catch any light that may be thrown on the Government's intentions.

**T**HERE is little enough light. What there is reveals two things.

There is first an anxiety for the security of what this country feels is its highway through the Mediterranean—an anxiety whose removal is not incompatible with peace, if it is removed by making it a truly public highway, and not simply a British, a Roman, nor even an Anglo-Italian one.

Secondly, there is the Government's appalling determination to put this country an easy first in

THE unusual length of this leading article has been dictated by the events of the past few days. We regret that it has therefore been necessary to hold over the special article by Lord Ponsonby which we had hoped to publish on this page. Lord Ponsonby's article will appear next week.

the matter of what the Government's own spokesmen have more than once described as "the folly of us all"—armament.

This, the outstanding fact about the Government, is *not* compatible with peace. It must, therefore, count very heavily against the possibility of any form of reconciliation resulting from the talks with Italy that will bring a real peace. It must be reckoned, too, as further aggravating the hindrance which HERR HITLER's action in Austria has itself put in the way of the success of talks with Germany.

Monday's *News Chronicle* declared:

There is only one thing for Britain and Europe to do in this critical hour, and the duty to do it is imperative. We must rearm to the full and couple with rearmament the most energetic efforts possible to reconstruct the collective system while there is still time.

Thus, a policy of arms no whit different from that of the Government is at last admitted to be part and parcel of the opposition's bankrupt theory of collective "security." As such, it must lessen the hope that, if given power, the opposition's half-hearted advocacy of a policy of all-round reconciliation would be given the prominence it now lacks and would be vigorously pursued to a successful conclusion.

**H**AVE men learnt nothing, then, from the endless lessons of cause and effect, more particularly since the War, of which Austria is but the latest most tragic example?

That is the question which this apparently dismal picture raises. But there is an even more vital and insistent question: *Shall we still refuse to learn that there is a policy for peace-making that can be demanded even now?*

For, make no mistake about it, the matter is in our hands—the hands of the common people upon whom, without their ever being given "power," rests in fact the power of this country to act for good or ill.

That is not to say that the common people have merely to *want* peace in order to get it—as it were automatically. On the contrary, the irony of their power is that, because they do not or will not realize it, they unwittingly support with their power the very things they want least.

**N**OR does that power exist only in our sentiment or in our imagination.

It is very real. It is even "immediately practical"—that magic name which so many insist upon seeing stamped all over every article of faith before they will "buy" it.

It can, for example, be immediately applied to secure that what little hope does lie in the Government's policy of reconciliation is realized. If the people will it.

It can—as a second line of defence in case the Government fails and is, by the same power, removed from office—be immediately applied to secure that the present opposition quickly learns the lesson that the present situation, like those of its kind ever since the War, demands a complete break with the method of power politics in every shape or form and the substitution of the method of cooperation in the interests of all. *If the people will it.*

**W**E would appeal particularly to the youth of this country.

You will have to do the suffering if the lesson of recent years is not quickly learnt. You are, indeed, already beginning to suffer for the failure of your elders to learn.

Bit by bit your liberties are being curtailed; your minds are being turned to war by air raid precautionary measures—which are also tending to lull you into a false sense of security—and by every inducement to join the armed forces; above all, a tremendous burden of debt for arms for which you have no use is piling up for you which, even if next year should prove to be the peak (as Mr. CHAMBERLAIN promises us) and history fail to repeat the lesson that over the crest of

an arms mountain lies war, will be felt for many a year to come—your years, even your young children's years.

It is by no means too early for an insistent and sustained campaign which will have, as its end the substitution by this country of a new method of international sharing for the present method of each country for itself, and, as its means, the power which lies with the people. For if they renounce war the Government *must* adopt a policy of peace.

**A** LEAD in both these respects has, appropriately and significantly, been given by the Peace Pledge Union.

In its new manifesto, which was first published in PEACE NEWS on March 12, which has been read in Parliament, and which in the few days since being launched, has already had an enthusiastic welcome, there is just the basis that is needed for such a great national campaign. All the essential points are there:

The appeal "for a new foreign policy, based on economic appeasement and reconciliation," and, in particular, for an investigation of the Van Zeeland Report, leading to a new peace treaty;

The "recognition that the policy of 'collective security' is now impracticable," and that the League of Nations must be re-established on a basis that will "meet the economic requirements of the large masses of poverty-stricken people"; and, as an essential part of these positive steps, The renunciation of war and arms, and, therefore, of the meeting of fascism by force.

The Peace Pledge Union needs the help and membership of all who see the need for this thing in order to make it known as widely as possible.

**B**UT, you may ask, just *how* are we to meet the danger which we feel, and which, in our ignorance of a better way, we have armed to meet?

Reason? If his latest act shows anything (you will point out—and the *News Chronicle* has pointed out) it shows that HITLER, for example, will not listen to reason. His act came when it did precisely in order to stifle the perfectly reasonable voice of the Austrian people. Should we surrender to men like that?

But what sort of reason can be expected to have survived the madness of the War and the post-War years? There is a big difference between the relative, legalistic reason that punctuates a general policy of power politics, of setting one country against another (however rightly, or even amicably) and the "reason"—we would prefer to call it the transparent honesty—that is rather the effect than the instrument of a policy of clean hands, a policy of cooperation in the interests of *all* concerned, a policy of *generosity*.

Hence the very untrustworthiness of a dictator's word itself calls for the adoption at once of such a bold policy. It would give trust and reason a new chance by removing the atmosphere in which mistrust flourishes.

If it is a gross error to surrender to every demand just *because* it is a dictated demand, it is an equally gross error to refuse what is really needed just *because* it is demanded by a dictator. The cry "no truck with the dictators" is as unworthy of the pacifist as is the taunt "coward" undeserved by him.

**E**VERYBODY admits that some such policy is what the world must attain to "sometime."

What better time than now? What better situation than the *present* for impressing everybody with the *present* need for it? And, above all, if only because it must come some time and is now most needed, what better moment for *hope*?

**Renounce war yourself now; and thus use your** It is a twofold task: **power to bring about a new foreign policy and a new peace treaty.**

It can be done. If the people will it.



# GERMANS MISREPRESENTED IN THE PRESS?

## English Pacifist Told: "We Don't Want War"

**A**RE the British people given a true picture of conditions in Germany by the press of this country? This question, although not a new one, suddenly becomes of more importance in view of the developments of the past week.

Whatever may be our opinion of the German Government, it should not be allowed to colour the impressions we receive of the people themselves. Below we publish

An interview with Mr. Dennis Frith, a London member of the Peace Pledge Union, who returned from Germany last week. He is known personally to two members of this newspaper's Editorial Board, and his reliability can be vouched for. (This is not to say that other people's cannot, but his words show that Germany is not entirely one big terror-stricken concentration camp); and Extracts from a letter written to a reader by her brother, who as a boy lived for a year in German Switzerland, speaks German like a native, and has often been mistaken for one. He has just been on an extended motor tour through Germany.

Both of these views give somewhat different pictures of Germany from those drawn by newspapers in this country.

### SCHOOLBOYS INTERESTED IN P.P.U.

By a PEACE NEWS Reporter

**H**OW he had told a class of German boys in Hildesheim of the aims and ideals of the Peace Pledge Union was one of several experiences related to PEACE NEWS by Mr. Dennis Frith, which had led him to revise his ideas of Germany gained from the British press.

He had been speaking to the class at the invitation of the schoolmaster, who was his friend. When he had finished speaking to the boys, Mr. Frith asked whether there were any questions they would like to ask him.

Thereupon one boy, who had a cousin in England, asked whether it was true that in England there was "a big peace group" composed of men who had declared they would not fight for their country. The boys were very interested in Mr. Frith's outline of the history and aims of the Peace Pledge Union.

"Curiously enough," said Mr. Frith, "I was actually given a piece of chalk by the schoolmaster, a member of the Hitler Youth Movement, in order to write Dick Sheppard's name on a Nazi black-board!"

"I had gone to Germany with a certain amount of trepidation," he continued. "I had wondered whether I would end up in a concentration camp. But when I told these school-boys of my fears, they burst out laughing."

Remembering a report in the press at Christmas time that no German families had Christmas trees last year, Mr. Frith asked the boys how many of them had had Christmas trees. Every boy in the class put up his hand.

### AGREED WITH HIS VIEWS

So far from finding himself in a concentration camp, Mr. Frith found that Germans were in general agreement with views which he put forward—views held by many pacifists here.

"They impressed upon me," he said, "their attitude toward the colonial problem. I took the opportunity to explain my belief that it was wrong for some countries to have to destroy food while people in other countries went hungry."

"They agreed not only with this but also with my view that the nations should cooperate for the solution of their problems."

"They agreed not only with this but also with my view that the nations should cooperate for the solution of their problems."

"They had, however, a very real fear of communism. When I pointed out that as I found many of my notions of Nazi

Germany, gained from newspapers, to be wrong, so in the same way their notions of Russia might be wrong, they could not agree.

"Yet Nazis themselves pointed out to me that they are a national-socialist party. It is a fact that some of Hitler's policies are breaking down class barriers."

### WAR NOT WANTED

"We don't want war," was the general tone of several conversations between Mr. Frith and people he met. The older people, especially, had a real loathing of the idea of war.

When he pointed out that the people of any country never wanted war, and that if they were driven to it by their rulers the latter would remain behind in safety, Germans agreed with him.



This party of French and German visitors in England is proof of the friendship that grows between people of different countries when they meet each other.

"But," they added, "Hitler isn't that sort of ruler. He is a man who has lived as we do, and he went through the War."

More surprising still was the popularity of General Goering, who is supposed to ask his office staff every morning the latest joke about himself!

Mr. Frith also referred to the rebuilding of Berlin which is now proceeding. "Germans realize," he said, "that if there were a war all that work would be wasted."

"The same applies to the military roads we hear so much about. It was pointed out to me that a few well-placed bombs would make them useless from the military point of view."

Nevertheless, Germany is rearming—for the same "reason" as Britain—to be strong for peace.

### THE RESULTS OF VERSAILLES

"It is a very jingo Germany," says the writer of a letter received by a reader. "I don't think that is altogether surprising when you remember Versailles."

"As soon as the last vestige of the Treaty is torn up, and the colonial question is about all that remains, I think everyone will feel much better. There

### "WORLD PEACE CAR" PROPAGANDIST ARRESTED IN U.S.A.

**MR. ASHTON B. JONES**, the American who for nearly two years has been travelling about America driving a "World Peace Car," has had his activities interrupted by the law. He was arrested for having failed to register his car in the State of Florida, and was bound over.

Mr. Jones told the court that the case was really one of civil liberties.

"This whole thing," he added, "is instigated by so-called patriotic persons who feel that I am doing something that is detrimental to this community, our country, and the world."

To PEACE NEWS he said, "It will all help to show the fascist spirit in America."

Mr. Jones is an ordained minister, and round his car are posters issued by various peace organizations. His propaganda work for peace has been carried out on his own initiative, and he relies on gifts in money and in kind. These are just about sufficient to enable him to operate.

Mr. Jones's latest idea is a button with an anti-war slogan. He is giving these buttons to school children and anybody who will wear them. He has ordered 25,000 of them and hopes eventually to use many more.

is a great deal of propaganda about these colonies, and it is popularly supposed that they are needed to take Germany's surplus population.

"I asked my little waiter what would happen if we refused to give them back and he said: 'Then I suppose it will mean war. What else can an over-populated country like Germany do?'"

"What we shouldn't forget is that Germany is a proud nation, and will no longer tolerate being addressed as the people that lost the War. I should say the main reason why Germans consent to and even revel in the present régime is because Hitler has never hesitated to tell the Allies exactly where they get off; i.e. Germans are willing slaves that their country may be free. That of course is why their régime is a dangerous one, because it will have to keep thinking of grievances or insults, in order to keep the people solidly behind it."

"Everyone seemed very pleased about Eden's retirement, and there were inquiries whether Halifax was a good friend of Germany's."

"German interest in England is just a little frightening—for instance about 25 per cent. of the stuff you see in the bookshops is translated from or written about us. While I should think most Germans would welcome an honourable agreement with us, it is quite clear that such an agreement must be made as between equals, and that it must be based upon what they describe as *Realpolitik* and not on ideals."

## Americans Question Need for a Huge Navy

SPEND MILLIONS ON PEACE, NOT WAR

**T**HE President and several Congressmen in the United States are receiving letters of protest against the proposal to spend \$800,000,000 on a huge navy.

"Why are we going to spend \$800,000,000 for a super-super-navy when we are the safest country in the world?" asks a typical letter, sent by a member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom to Mr. Roosevelt.

"Is Mexico or Canada going to attack us? (It is a wonder Mexico doesn't, with American capital owning and exploiting most of the mines.)"

After listing some of the constructive work the money could be used to finance, the letter continues:—

Do not more armaments lead to war just as inevitably as the cutting down of trees and brush leads to erosion and dust storms? We are the "safest," richest (in natural resources) nation in the world, with the possible exception of the Soviet Union or the British Empire. Instead of playing this game of copy-cat with the dictatorships wherein no one is safe except the munition-makers and the fascist leaders, could we not do the following?—

Carry on trade agreements as is so splendidly being done by Secretary Hull. Why should there have to be any have-not nations?

Call a monetary and possibly an economic conference with the democracies and also the dictator countries if the latter would cooperate.

Invoke the so-called neutrality Act, stopping all sale of cotton, scrap iron, etc., to Japan.

Will profit always come before lives?

Put more people to work so that they will not be discontented and think that war would be an adventure. Need we, a democracy, follow the example of the old monarchies and the new dictatorships?

[America's Naval Programme—see "Pars for the Platform," page fifteen.]

## PUBLICITY FOR WAR RESISTERS AT DUTCH EXHIBITION

From Our Own Correspondent.

RIJSWIJK, Monday.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom will have a stand for peace propaganda at the exhibition to be held in The Hague from April 2 to 9, organized by the Brotherhood Federation in Holland.

The League wishes to show the public that several European countries have active and efficient organizations of war resisters.

It is specially useful to make this known in England. It is a known fact that an English diplomat said last year that Holland's eastern frontier was England's frontier, and that a secret treaty between both countries was sure to exist for mutual help in case of war.

The fact of a strong pacifist movement in England was therefore a great moral help to Dutch pacifists.

### International Club for Manchester

A scheme is on foot to establish an international club in Manchester.

Suitable premises are available in the centre of the city. Membership would be open on the one hand to students from abroad, foreign residents and visitors, and on the other hand to British citizens with a special interest in foreign affairs and anxious to meet people from abroad.

A meeting for those interested will be held at 7.30 p.m. on Friday next in the Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street, when full details of the scheme will be given. Mr. Shoran S. Singha, Warden of the Indian Students' Hostel, London, will speak. Particulars are obtainable from Mr. H. A. Phillips, 23 Marford Crescent, Sale.

Please Order Your  
PEACE NEWS  
EARLY



## Woman's Point Of View

# WHAT ARE YOU DOING FOR PEACE?

I HAVE heard a number of answers to that question. The commonest is a vague—"Well, I'm not really doing anything. Of course I've signed the peace pledge."

I find that answer an infuriating one. If your signature to the peace pledge means anything, it means that you have thought deeply and earnestly, that you have read a certain amount, that you have heard arguments on both sides, and that you have come to a conclusion.

If your pledge has any value it must have some such serious background. If it has such a background how can you be satisfied to stop at your signature and do nothing more?

How do you answer that question?

One woman answered, "I buy PEACE NEWS."

I asked her if she read it. She replied with charming honesty, "No. I always begin to but I find it rather dull."

Now that is fair criticism, but it is also a criticism of herself. It is quite fair to say PEACE NEWS is dull if you find it so, but that is not sufficient excuse for not reading it. It is sufficient excuse for the casual reader who buys it out of curiosity, but it is not sufficient reason for the supporter of peace.

There seem to be two schools of thought as to the function of the paper. One school thinks it should be a weekly tonic to stir sluggish imagination and rouse flagging energies; the other school thinks of it as a plate of wholesome food, good for you, but unappetizing, that should be chewed and digested to the last crumb.

What is your point of view?

It would be interesting and useful if those women who have canvassed with PEACE NEWS wrote of their experiences. My own has been enlightening although not always encouraging.

I make a point of calling in the afternoon when the woman of the household is likely to be less busy. Even those downright housewives who "don't hold with it," usually agree to look at a free copy of the paper.

The reasons for "not holding with it" are for the most part vague. Most women repeat easily remembered catchwords from their favourite newspaper.

Many have a fatalistic attitude that war is bad but inevitable, like the weather. But easily the most tragic reply was from a woman who was expecting a fifth child and whose husband was out of work.

"I don't know why you people make such a fuss about war," she said. "Life isn't worth living now. It couldn't be much worse."

There was an appeal in PEACE NEWS a fortnight ago which asked for volunteers for social service. It was addressed to pacifists, presuming that they would, of necessity, be interested to get first-hand experience of social conditions, and would have the enthusiasm and energy for the task. I wonder how many answered the appeal.

I would like to thank in this column those women who have written to offer their help in the distribution of the leaflet, *War Against Children*. If women are to be a force for peace they must be informed, they must know what other women are thinking, writing, and doing.

What can you do to help?

\*

IN the last general election the Labour Party wanted to issue a poster which showed a baby wearing a gas mask, with the slogan "Stop War. Vote BAD Labour." Billposting firms refused to handle the poster and the Conservative Party described it as in bad taste.

There are to be negotiations with the billposters for the reissue of the poster, and, in the light of the Government's policy of making every household war-minded it will be interesting to see what happens.

A baby in a gas mask leaves a very bad taste in our mouths too, but not for the same reason.

Such a poster may not win or lose an election, but it will make every mother

think. What of the practical difficulties? Local air raid instructors have not dared risk experimenting with half a dozen babies in one of their gas vans.

Where is the mother who would agree?

This poster is in bad taste because it is too impressive. It will make people think. And you do not get your war mentality by making people think.

You teach them to seal up their cellars, blacken their windows, clean out their attics, extinguish their fires, and fill their baths. You tell them it is their duty. You tell them to obey. You do not want them to ask awkward questions, or have awkward doubts. You do not want them to think.

\*

WHAT does it take to make a correspondent of *The Times* almost sob from sheer exaltation?

We too have had our EXALTATION exalted moments, and for most of us the word has a noble sound. It is enlightening then to read the following paragraph:—

In ten seconds hundreds of shells had plunged upon that one devoted spot of earth. In twenty seconds it seemed that there must have been thousands. Hurricanes, whirlwinds, thunderstorms, and gigantic conflagrations; bring them all together and you will have only a suggestion of what went on immediately before our eyes.

One almost sobbed from sheer exaltation; for the overmastering sensation was astonishment at the power of it—at the power of British artillery and the splendour of its accuracy.

Thus the exalted war correspondent in August, 1916.

That was one point of view.

The other was expressed in a letter a German officer wrote:—

The English are 400 metres away. The hundreds of dead bodies make the air terrible and there are flies in thousands. . . . We have no dug-outs. . . . The ceaseless roaring of the guns is driving us mad.

## STUDY COURSE IN PSYCHOLOGY—2

THIS week's instalment of a syllabus being used by a North London group for the study of psychology, deals with the psychology and philosophy of national relationships. This section is divided as follows:—

### (a) PERSONAL QUESTIONS

**Religion:** Tribal deities; world religions; need for one universal religion; findings of World Faiths Congress and of World Conference on Faith and Order; Christianity.

**Pacifism:** What is pacifism (see *An Encyclopaedia of Pacifism*, by Aldous Huxley, Chatto and Windus, 6d.). Is pacifism possible? The love principle. Why are pacifists argumentative?

### (b) PUBLIC QUESTIONS

**Patriotism:** "Patriotism is not enough." Who are these "lesser breeds without the law"? Disgraceful sentiments of idolatrous patriotism (see *What is Patriotism?* by N. P. Butterworth, Thornton Butterworth, 7s. 6d.).

**Politics:** Science of human government; the governing classes; capitalism and conservatism; communism and Christianity; fascism—coloured shirts and empty minds; imperialism and colonies.

The final section deals with the philosophy of international peace under the following headings:—

### (a) PERSONAL

**Selfishness:** The greatest curse and hindrance; hypersensitiveness; suggestibility; failure of self-defence; wealth; trade barriers; possessive tendencies (see *War Dance*).

**Propaganda:** Power of the herd instinct; mass psychology; mob hysteria. Will pacifism survive proclamation of war? Hypnotic Hitler.

### (b) NATIONAL

**Character:** National characteristics versus international agreements; the conflict of temperament. Is the League of Nations an impracticable ideal? The clash of world forces (see *The Clash of Colour*, by Basil Mathews, 2s., Corgate Press).

**Ideals:** An international police force; world religion. Is the kingdom of God and the brotherhood of man possible?

## CONTENTS BILLS

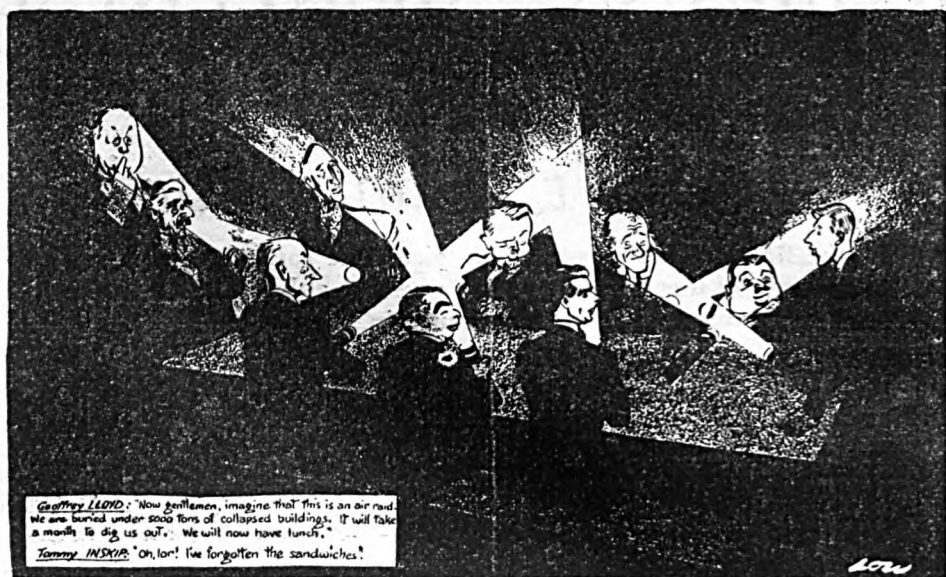
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This cartoon by Low (reproduced by courtesy of the *Evening Standard*), was drawn just after Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd had returned from a visit to Berlin, where he studied German air raid precautions

## Catholic Pacifism Does Not Mean Non-Resistance

says

JOHN NIBB

who here expresses a purely personal view

basis of his pacifism political rather than religious:—

1. He can admit the theoretical possibility of a just war, but can insist that, as a warring government invariably declares its own war a just one and provides no hearing for "the other side," the only practical way out is something in the nature of the peace pledge. However, such a decision leaves in the mind a haunting vision of a really exceptional war that might be "just."

2. He can challenge and repudiate the political philosophy of nationalism upon which the scholastics base their defence of a just war. For the conception that nations are unities that are to be treated as individuals is neither reasonable nor essentially Christian, and it seems probable that if the early mediaeval Church had triumphed in its long struggle with the powers of State, the modern political nationalism of sovereign States, from which international wars are made, would never have arisen. Of course, this nationalism, sponsored for generations by the heavy educational machinery of modern governments, is now strongly entrenched, but breaches have been made in its defences.

\* \* \*

The ordinary person more readily appreciates an argument when it is demonstrated in the concrete, and the present writer has found that intelligent individuals tend to move toward non-nationalist pacifism when asked to consider the situation in Spain and its reaction in Great Britain during the last six months.

There have been in this country millions of people ready to welcome a war on behalf of what they call "Spain"; by that term half of them mean the supporters of Franco, the other half mean the "Red" element; but many more millions would strongly disapprove of any such war. If, however, the British Government had become involved, all these conflicting parties would have become "Britain" and would have been indiscriminately bombed by Franco-Russian or Italo-German aeroplanes.

Anybody who considers such slaughter just, must find it difficult to explain his definition of justice; on the other hand, those who admit the obvious injustice of such indiscriminate slaughter will have to concede that the theory of nationalism is philosophically unsound.

\* \* \*

There may be a future for pacifism based upon a reasonable exposition of the injustice of nationalism and of the distinction between an individual and a political State, but pacifists who rely upon persuading the multitudes that non-resistance is morally obligatory or rely upon creating a new human nature are engaged upon a task that in the opinion of the largest Christian body is a forlorn hope.

Nevertheless a Catholic can repudiate international war. He cannot do so on the grounds that resistance to force is necessarily un-Christian, but he can advance two arguments which make the



## WHIRLIGIG

by

Percival Gull

## OF MYSELF

MY grandfather was a well-known auctioneer and still, carefully preserved under a glass case, we keep the little wooden mallet with which he once knocked down the love-letters of the Dowager Lady Figswish.

The other day I was playing polo at Ranelagh when a most unfortunate thing happened. I took a long run up-field, struck at the ball, and then discovered that I had inadvertently brought my grandfather's little mallet instead of my polo stick. I missed the ball by a yard, and the crowd, rising as one man, shouted "Cad!" and "Bounder!"

I was in a quandary. I galloped up to Lord Sidney Quidd, who promptly turned his back on me and galloped away. Colonel Bombast spat in my pony's eye. The crowd in the stand, when I passed them, pelted me with lace handkerchiefs and carnations.

## A TICKWORT TO THE RESCUE

I WAS saved finally by Lady Tickwort's little grandson, who had the presence of mind to run to a local stable and procure me a Shetland pony. I changed mounts on the field, and found that I could just reach the ball comfortably from the back of this diminutive steed.

The rest of the game provided an amusing spectacle as I trotted after my opponents. My horsemanship several times earned the plaudits of a distinguished company. On one occasion, when Colonel Bombast came charging down on me, I put my two feet on the ground and turned Little Nell round in her own length. On another, during the furious mêlée in front of goal, I emerged triumphant with the ball, having threaded my way through under the tummies of the other players' mounts.

There was one really amusing occurrence during the fourth chukker. Lord Tuthpaste was riding by, when Little Nell suddenly swished her tail and tickled his pony. The pony went into hysterics, and Lord Tuthpaste was thrown on to the grandstand roof, where he hung suspended by his braces.

## GULL'S SOCCER NOTES

MY team to play the Artistic Wanderers next Saturday was chosen today. There is no change from the side that defeated the Intelligenzia Rovers last week. Team: Scapegoat; Fraud, Snipe; Brute, Prodigal, Tricker; Caddish, Bounder, Gull, Beast, Rotter.

## MODERN ROMANCE DEPT.

Come to me, dearest, in your mask,  
We'll kiss by some daft sign:  
Soon you'll be stretched upon the mat;  
But now, my love, you're mine.  
The tube that gives what air you ask  
Is one of old design.  
It was my own, my dear, worn out.  
Sweet, I have changed with thine.

## TODAY'S EPIGRAM

La plume de ma tante est dans la  
salle-à-manger.

Arouet de Vassignac-Soudar.

## ADVENTURE IN THE STRAND

I WAS walking down the Strand not long ago when I suddenly noticed a familiar figure in front of me. It was Lieutenant Gadd-Sire. I knew it was the Lieutenant because he is every inch a soldier and leans back at an angle of 45 degrees.

I said: "Hullo, Archie!"

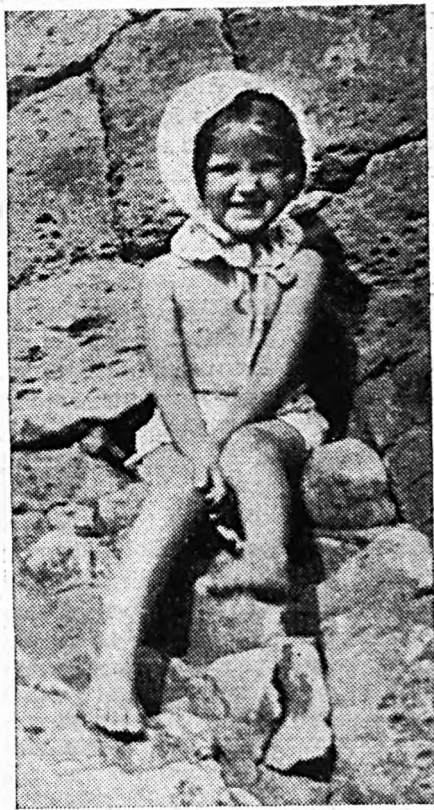
"Shut up, you fool!" he said, turning on me fiercely. He was wearing a false beard and artificial eyelashes. "I'm a spy," he whispered dramatically.

"Are you disguised?" I said.

"Yes," said Archie.

The last I saw of him he was tracking a hot chestnut vendor on tip-toe down Clarges Street.

## Sent by a Reader



## On the Rocks—but Still Smiling

A photograph taken by a reader—J. T. Artiss, of Bournville, Birmingham.

Have you a picture for PEACE NEWS?

## WHO'S in the NEWS

IF this column presented you only with the facts about people whose names are household words, the difficulty this week would be to decide who wasn't in the news.

Everybody has had something to say. Dictators, Prime Ministers, and commentators have swamped the world with verbiage.

Herr Hitler's coup in Austria has provided a grand opportunity for talk on a grand scale.

Sharing the limelight with Herr Hitler is Mr. Chamberlain, who said, less than a fortnight ago, "Britain's terrifying power will have a sobering effect on the world."

However, the object of this column is not to tell you more about those big people of whom you probably know too much already.

It is precisely the opposite: to dig out of their stubborn silence the humble men and women who form the backbone of the peace movement; to mix them up with others better known and thereby form a short weekly parade of interest to the average reader.

## "QUITE A GENTLEMAN"

LAST week mention was made of Mr. George Lansbury's triumphant tour through the West End, when he marched boldly along at the head of seventy people, advertising this paper.

Many people recognized him. Such cries as "Good old George!" "That's Lansbury!" "Isn't that Lansbury?" were frequent.

One woman was heard to say: "He's the only one that's got any sense!"

"I'm with you. War's no use. Even if we won, we couldn't really win anything." That was the verdict of a policeman.

But the best of the humorous remarks came from a sweet old lady, pottering along on the arm of her daughter. She pointed to one of the sandwichmen and said, "My dear, he looks quite a gentleman!"

## INTERNATIONALIST AUTHOR

JOHN NIBB, who writes in this issue, founded the League of International Peace shortly after the Armistice in 1918. It has since been dissolved.

He is the author of *Christianity and Internationalism*, *International Thoughts*, and *Man the Madman*.

## The BBC's "Way of Peace" Broadcasts

by NIGEL SPOTTISWOODE

## THE BALANCE OF POWER

THE trouble with the Balance of Power is that any equilibrium that may temporarily be achieved is of an unstable nature. For over a century British foreign policy in Europe was based on the theory of backing the smaller Powers, in order that the larger ones should not achieve a European hegemony.

The great advantage of this policy is that it provides us with lofty moral reasons for purely self-interested actions. Mr. Nicolson recognized this when he pointed out that our championship of Little Belgium was strictly conditional on her remaining outside the influence of the Central European Powers.

Balance-of-power policy is, in fact, only a method of securing allies in strategically important positions. It is not an exclusively British prerogative: in fact, by its very nature, it will be the policy of any military power.

The changing fate of Austria since the war is a fine example of the way in which different Powers will adopt a small State for their own interests, and drop it the moment those interests can best be served in other ways.

Balance of Power is a part of military strategy—of the *realpolitik* of modern diplomacy. Mr. Nicolson makes the astonishing suggestion that it should be dissociated in people's minds from Power Politics and armaments.

But a Balance of Power without armaments is a contradiction in terms. The ability of such a policy to maintain

peace, or more exactly, an armed truce, is dependent on the nature of the military power which is balanced.

In days when the defensive weapon was predominant, the balance could be maintained for a long period. For in those days it required an enormous preponderance of offensive power to overcome a relatively small defensive force.

But the aeroplane and the long-range gun have transformed military strategy and in the last twenty years the offensive power of war has far outstripped the defensive. **Powerful as are the forces of Britain and France, they would not have been capable of defending Austria.**

**If we had gone to war with Germany last week, we should not have fought on Austrian soil. The front lines would have been in Berlin, Paris and London, and when these had been reduced to shambles, there would be little left in Europe to defend.**

The attempt to achieve a deterrent balance of power in Europe against the Berlin-Rome axis is a military impossibility; it is also morally unjustifiable. Mr. Nicolson describes the two groups of Powers today as the "civilian countries" and the "military countries," and proposes that the former should achieve an overwhelming military power over the latter, telling them that "there is nothing which they now possess which anybody wishes to take from them, and that there is no possible danger of their being attacked if they keep quiet."

Dr. Salter dealt adequately with the moral aspect of this balance of possessions in his talk a fortnight ago. But leaving aside the rights and wrongs of the situation, is it, in fact, possible for the "civilian countries" to achieve overwhelming power and remain "civilian"?

Mr. Nicolson admits that it is difficult, for the military and economic resources of the fascist countries are organized far more efficiently than in democratic countries. He suggests, therefore, that we should take a leaf out of their books and organize ourselves on their lines.

This is the logical result of all efforts to beat militarism at its own game. It is the war to end war over again, and the more efficient war becomes, the more impossible is it to defeat it by itself.

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# NEW BOOKS

## PLAYING AT POWER POLITICS

**Blackmail or War.** By Geneviève Tabouis. Translated by Paul Selver. With forty Drawings by Joss. Penguin Books. 6d.

*Reviewed by Geoffrey West*

"THERE is only one argument which Germany understands: might is right." For "Germany" read fascism generally, and you have the point of view shaping every statement and argument in this dangerously readable study of contemporary foreign affairs by one of the ablest of French political and diplomatic journalists.

Her thesis is that the fascist powers are all too successfully bluffing "the democracies" from one surrender to another by threats of a world war, which fascism does not want and could not fight (and knows it could not fight) if it came to the point.

Her moral is that we democrats—the term includes Britain, France, the U.S.A., Czechoslovakia and, of course, Soviet Russia—have only to call that bluff by making a strong stand and "the danger of war will be obviated." What will happen then is not quite so clear; presumably we are just to sit upon the ground (in whatever state of existence and geography God and the Peace Treaties have caused us to be born) and eat olives of endless peace until the cows come home.

That is the trouble with this book, and too many books like it—the trouble also with most of those who jump to shout for Eden or more decorously applaud Chamberlain. They leave too much out. Dealing with what they feel to be the immediate issue, they ignore the fundamental and decisive realities.

Mme. Tabouis's pages are almost all interesting, because she does know her diplomatic world of post-war Europe; she has been about in privileged position and witnessed memorable conferences, scenes, and persons, and can offer anecdotes ranging from the significant down to slightly malicious gossip. She gives a very vivid account of many of the leading moves of recent years in the European game of power politics, a kind of complicated chess match in which any piece can (and does) change sides the instant it discerns the least self-advantage in doing so.

As lately as 1933 Italy and Russia were brothers-in-arms, and Italy and France later still; Hitler was by no means always as Russophobic as today; and Britain and France have cooed and quarrelled alternately ever since the war, thereby throwing away, as Mme. Tabouis laments, their chance to be "masters of war and peace in Europe for half a century at least."

She outlines it all with depressing clarity, and then, seizing on the moment when what she calls the democratic countries are possibly more at odds than ever before, starts adding up their armies and aeroplanes and battleships in simple sums to show their military superiority, even throwing in "singleness of purpose" not as a joke but as a "favourable" psychological factor. (Some of her other "facts" are equally contradictory, as when on p. 203 she declares Italy fearful of war and on p. 223 "strongly inclined" to it.)

She denounces fascism, with its faith in might as right. But essentially she holds that faith herself, and when she seeks to be constructive she deals in dreams and evasions which, even if fulfilled, would produce not true peace but deeper suppressions and ultimate unavoidable explosion.

I think Mme. Tabouis should be read, but critically. In any case the book should be bought for Joss's diplomatic portrait gallery, forty brilliant sketches by a first-class caricaturist. Chamberlain on p. 235 is alone worth sixpence!

## THE REAL BUDDHA

**The Youngest Disciple.** By Edward Thompson. Faber and Faber. 8s. 6d.

It is unfortunate that, although for the serious student there is no lack of reliable materials, the ordinary reader in English-speaking countries has so far, generally speaking, derived whatever knowledge of the life story of the Buddha

he may possess from Sir Edwin Arnold's well-known but uncritical and miracle-ridden version, *The Light of Asia*. True, Mr. Iqbal Singh has lately given us a near-Marxist interpretation of considerable merit; but the Gospel of Buddhism for the West had yet to be written.

It is this gospel which Mr. Thompson has given us; a recreation, through the eyes of a herd boy who is the only fictional character in the book, of that gracious personality whose "Three Refuges," 2,500 years after his death, are daily on the lips of more men and women than even the Lord's Prayer.

The story needed no embellishment; Mr. Thompson has given it none. He has closely followed the early Pali tradition, stripped of accretions; his Gotama is no miracle-working supernatural being, but a man among men who has found a way of life which by love and example he would open to all his fellows.

Once again, reading them sympathetically and simply presented in these pages, one wonders why the Fire Sermon is not as much to our Western world as the Sermon on the Mount; the Parable of the Oil-Seed as that of the Prodigal Son; the dying teacher's message of courteous consideration for Chunda, the unwitting instrument of his death, as "Father, forgive them."

In every pacifist shrine the figure of Sakymuni, no less than that of Jesus should have its place; and this book has caught and will impart no small measure of his spirit—all the more that its author has not forgotten that even a world-teacher may have a sense of humour!

It is a pity that Mr. Thompson has chosen to make such exacting demands on the printer's supply of "exclamers."

A. S. B. GLOVER.

## WHOM SHALL WE BLAME?

**Mussolini's Roman Empire.** By G. T. Garrett. Penguin Books. 6d.

This is an absorbing tale of two tragic chapters in modern history; firstly the crushing of Abyssinia, one of the only two independent African States, and, secondly, the Franco rising and subsequent civil war in Spain.

When one comes to the sphere of conjecture and interpretation one may not accept all the author's views. His main theme is that behind the Spanish rising, almost as directly as in Abyssinia, the workings are to be traced of Mussolini's subtle brain.

Be that as it may, one may doubt whether Mr. Garrett is right in suggesting that the British Government was really pleased that Italy should conquer Abyssinia. One may doubt, too, whether the foreign office, having decided that Franco was bound to win, determined that it was "best to make friends with the mammon of unrighteousness and hasten the inevitable end."

It does, however, certainly appear that the vacillations and uncertainty which were the outward expression of British policy gave rise to false hopes and intensified disillusionment.

Among the factors which sent Italy into the Abyssinian venture, Mr. Garrett emphasizes Manchuria. He refers very briefly to another factor—the failure of the Disarmament Conference—which to many must seem far more directly responsible. He points out with truth that in the post-war years "England and France have tended to behave like the man and wife in the old-fashioned barometer—when one goes forward the other goes back."

The tragedy was that in 1929-30, Arthur Henderson had not a French counterpart, while Herriot's rise in France coincided with the replacement of the first Labour Government by a Conservative one which paid little heed to international reconciliation.

This tragedy does not concern disarmament alone. Who can tell and what glories of internationalism Europe might not have attained if England and France had made an effort, years ago, to secure an equitable distribution of the world's wealth? Is it altogether impossible that Mussolini would have been a tame gentleman today, and that Hitler would not have been heard of at all?

But here we, too, are in the realm of conjecture!

MOSA ANDERSON.

## AMERICAN PACIFISM

**Must we go to War?** By Kirby Page. Farrar and Rinehart, New York. \$1.

The particular interest of this book to the British reader is that it presents the problem from the American point of view. The full title is *Must We Go To War? A Book for Men with a sub-title for Women, Must American Women Send their Men to Fight in Europe and Asia?*

It is an argumentative rather than an eloquent book. The author is clear and makes unhesitating use of headings and numbers which make his arguments easy to follow. The text is well documented and is illustrated by numerous charts and tables.

The foreword considers the possibility of the wars in Spain and China developing into a world war, and his conclusion is that another war in Europe and Asia is not inevitable, but it can be avoided only by bringing about, through pacific means, economic and political changes which will diminish economic distress in Germany, Italy and Japan, and which will relieve emotional stress in those lands. He stresses the danger of concentrating upon long-range policy to the exclusion of immediate action.

The ten chapters of the book are in the form of questions. The first four are general; five and six are concerned with the special problem of the U.S.A.; seven discusses the attitude of the Church to war; the next two chapters deal with the personal aspect of the question, and the last chapter discusses the problem of civil war.

The author finds the causes of war in nationalism and capitalism, not in man's biological make-up. He declares that war is not caused by any special brand of aggression or militarism, but by the ruthless competitive struggle for control of the earth's resources. The have-not Powers cannot change this situation peaceably. *Only the favoured Powers can make the necessary changes by pacific means.*

Discussing the question of an international police force, the author draws a parallel between the League and the U.S.A. The question of the exertion of federal force against a delinquent State was considered as a provision of the Constitution, but was rejected. The rejection was condemned as a mad project, but has justified itself.

The chapters on the exclusively American problems are perhaps to us the most valuable portion of the book, since the issues differ considerably from those of the British Empire. It is essential that these differences should be appreciated in this country. The long-range policy of the American pacifist is that of the pacifist in this country, but his immediate policy and the vexed question of neutrality are American problems, and they must be appreciated before the suggested solutions come up for criticism.

In the extremely practical and helpful chapter on *What can I do?* one of the first suggestions is, be informed. How much does the pacifist in this country know of American pacifism? These chapters on the American problem would make profitable material for a discussion group, and the chapter that deals with personal service should be read by all group leaders who are eager to translate conviction into action.

M. SAKLATVALA.

## POLICE FORCE AGAIN

**The Great Truce: A Practical Plan for World Peace.** By Ernest T. Williams. Hutchinson. 2s. 6d.

Mr. Williams has a plan. It is an extremely simple plan—and an extremely dangerous one.

The League, says Mr. Williams, has failed. The nations, however, still want peace.

They should agree not to go to war for 25 years—the Great Truce. During this period, world order would be maintained by an international police force, formed by the transfer of twenty percent of the nations' armed forces, and controlled by a Truce Council consisting of one representative of each of the major Powers and four representing jointly the minor Powers.

During the Truce, each nation would disarm gradually by four percent per annum to a level of twenty percent of existing armaments.

Such a scheme, it is claimed, would give the world an opportunity of solving its economic troubles in peace—how, is not stated.

Indeed, Mr. Williams throughout is completely hazy as to the details, even of his own scheme. "The details of the organization, location, and controls of the international police force," he writes, "need not be discussed here. It is a subject for the experts and should present no difficulty."

The objections to an international police force have often been put forward in PEACE NEWS and elsewhere; Mr. Williams, however, is either completely ignorant of them or chooses to ignore them. In any case, considering what the "experts" did to the Versailles Treaty, the League Covenant, the Disarmament Conference, and the World Economic Conference, and many another attempt at world appeasement, an international police force is not likely to receive any better treatment at their hands.

As a first step to the Truce, Mr. Williams suggests a four-Power pact between Great Britain, Germany, France and Italy. Does Mr. Williams think that such a pact would ever be joined by, say, Russia? One presumes not. By his fulsome and uncritical praise of Hitler and Mussolini, Mr. Williams leaves no doubt as to where his sympathies lie.

RICHARD LAWRENCE.

## FRENCH PACIFIST POETS

**Des ténèbres aux clartés.** By Robert Bienseul. Preface by Philéas Lebesgue. R. Debesse, 38, rue de l'Université, Paris. 15 fr.

**Au long d'une petite route.** By Marie Tiercelin Bonnin. R. Debesse. 10 fr.

R. Bienseul's verse is well worth reading. Here is a great poet, a master of his craft, who gives us a picture of the world slowly evolving.

In pages of epic beauty he shows us man rising from darkness to behold the light. The horrors of the past are there, so is the dream of the future: love, brotherhood, peace. His sympathy is entirely with the workers, the miners, the sailors, the carriers, the woodcutters.

There is ample room for faith and hope in his vision of the world. A particularly fine poem, dedicated to Spain's suffering to-day, shows up the horror of war, but not its futility, as the author believes that freedom is worth fighting for and that death in such a cause is not in vain.

Pacifists will be interested in the poet's hope of a regenerated mankind and will admire a lyrical power which recalls Verhaeren's inspired and passionate love of life.

Marie Tiercelin Bonnin's ideal is also democracy and peace: there is less power in her verse, but not in her convictions. She has an ingenuous faith in the good intentions of politicians such as E. Herriot and L. Blum, and eagerly waits for the day when workers will unite.

She is deeply attached to France and to her native Poilu; and in her best (and incidentally longest) poem *Au long d'une petite route* she expresses at once her love of country, of nature and of peace. Salvation will come from having a stout heart and from turning once more back to the land.

The pacifist poems of Maurice Rostand, one of the greatest living French poets, are to be published shortly by R. Debesse under the title *Il ne faut plus jamais*.

R. NIKLAUS.

## BRIEFER NOTICES

**WAR AND THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE.**

By Nicholas Berdyaev. James Clarke. 6d.

Professor Berdyaev, Director of the Academy of the Philosophy of Religion at Paris, contributes the second Pax Pamphlet. Admitting Tolstoy's value as a spiritual influence, he yet rejects his absolute denial of all forms of resistance and struggle. "What we need in our own time is precisely an active resistance to war, a struggle to end war; I am almost prepared to say a 'war' against war."

The refusal to fight is but the first step for Christians, the end of the "Constantine epoch" of the Church, in which religious leaders are above all anxious to prove that Christians can be "good citizens." The next step is to realize that "if war is to be overcome realistically a spiritual rebirth alone is insufficient, a profound social change must also take place."

**RECALL TO THE CHURCHES.**—The book of this name, by Robert Morton, is published by Arthur Barker, not Baker, as stated last week.



# DEAR SIR . . .



## Eden's Resignation

I WAS extremely disappointed to see the line taken by Mr. Hudson, and apparently by the Pacifist Group in the House of Commons, over Mr. Eden's resignation. It is one thing to refuse to be stampeded into blind anti-fascism, and quite another to walk into the fascist camp.

Mr. Lansbury's mission in the various capitals of Europe, including Rome and Berlin, was surely to prepare the ground for an economic conference that would produce something nearer to international justice than we have at present. Mr. Chamberlain's purpose is altogether different. His object is merely to arrive at some sordid imperialist bargain with Italy, and with such objects pacifists should have no sympathy, nor should they do anything which suggests approval of such immoral manoeuvres.

There is no surer way of ruining our cause than by giving the appearance of being pro-fascist. We are determined not to go to war with fascist countries, but that does not alter the fact that fascism is the greatest enemy in the world today of everything that we stand for. The fact that we will not take up arms should not prevent our being as bold and outspoken in our opposition to the forces of evil as those who disagree with us as to method.

D. D. HAYDON.

Victoria College,  
Ramleh, Alexandria,  
Egypt.

## Conscription Wedge Inserted Long Ago?

Your readers may remember that a few years ago a sensation was caused by the announcement that a civilian aerodrome at Corby, in Northamptonshire, had been visited by government officials, and that thereupon a veil of secrecy had descended upon the spot.

But after all, what need is there of secrecy? Is not any firm which manufactures aircraft prepared, and perhaps pledged, to convert its plant and its products to war purposes in case of need? And is it not probably true, as I am informed, that all its able-bodied male employees, below a certain age, have long been required to become members of the Royal Air Force reserves?

If all this is so, surely the thin end of the conscription wedge, which many are only now beginning to suspect, was inserted long ago.

My Corby acquaintance also tells me he knows members of English armament firms who constantly exchange visits with personnel of foreign ones, whether they flourish under dictatorships or democracies.

BAR-N-ABBAS.

## Imperialism at Home

JOSEPH GORMAN'S letter in last week's issue of PEACE NEWS on the question of the boycott of Japan, expresses a sense of helplessness, almost of despair which is common to large numbers at the present time. But why should they feel helpless, since there is a specific, cancerous evil to be removed and a new way of international life to be inaugurated?

The fundamental reason why I am opposed to the boycott of Japan is that by such means we shall do nothing to remove the causes of the Japanese invasion of China, or to lead toward a rational system of international relations.

In the following question, Joseph Gorman goes to the root of the trouble. He asks: "Should we support a new imperialism in its violent stage merely because certain old imperialisms still exist?"

Note the word "merely." Those old imperialisms happen to be financial fortresses which their possessors highly esteem. Mr. Gorman's question might be stated thus:

If the vast monopolies possessed by the capitalists of the old empires be persisted in, what is the answer to the capitalists or dictators of, say, Germany, Italy, and Japan, who demand similar advantages?

Mr. Gorman appears to overlook the fact that because an empire is old it has not ceased to be aggressive, and that it is aggressive because aggression is profitable—to a few, that is. Every imperialism is permanently aggressive, as, e.g., British imperialism in India, Palestine, Kenya, &c. The exploitation for profit of land, capital and labour—that, and not alone the initial conquest, is aggression.

Therefore, to be consistent, if I, as a British docker refuse to load old iron for Japan, I must also refuse to load old iron for Britain, since the latter is exploiting vast territories with the aid of violence and is increasing its armaments in order to maintain the "right" to do so.

In other words, unless we are prepared to regard this question as a struggle between powerful groups of financiers, or of Dictators, as the case may be, among all the Big Powers, I am afraid we shall go astray. As the *Daily Herald* put it recently, when we mention Abyssinia, what is our reply to the Italian request to explain just why we are in Kenya?

Thus the purport of my reply to Mr. Gorman is that imperialism is one, is as indefensible for Britain as for Japan, and

thus that the proper place to begin the attack upon it is at home. When we have taken the first steps to end our own imperialism we shall be in a position to ask for the cooperation of the people of other nations to overthrow imperialism everywhere. How can we today boycott the Japanese people for doing what we ourselves are doing or are permitting our own capitalists to do?

There is no excuse for our feeling of helplessness while we witness the Japanese onslaught upon China, since there is nothing to prevent us from crusading here and now against British Imperialism, which is one of the chief causes of the wave of imperialist aggression which has been sweeping across the world during the last few years. It is, I fear, much easier to boycott people thousands of miles away, than one's own countrymen. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the only way in which we can insure the freedom of countries which are now living in fear of invasion, like Czechoslovakia, for example, is in freeing countries like India, Kenya, Palestine, &c. from the corrupting, aggressive power of imperialism.

Austria, the latest victim of aggression, is a further testimony to the madness of the victorious Powers at Versailles, to the folly of trying to knock out one's competitors and seeking to thrive at their expense. The soul of Europe is being tortured and destroyed in the vain effort to regiment still further a civilization that has admittedly got out of hand and moves with appalling steadiness toward self-destruction.

WILFRED WELLOCK.

12 Victoria Avenue,  
Quinton, Birmingham 26.

## Ends and Means

Might I take the liberty of replying to John Pursaill who answered me under this heading in your issue of March 12?

He said that had I lived in olden times, I should probably have been a "female slave" myself. Yes, quite probably, but I fail to see that this point is a contradiction of my statement that ancient war, sometimes at any rate, served a social purpose by producing good out of evil.

He says, "In conquering nature, men find they have conquered themselves." Surely then, our age should be the most spiritual the world has ever known, for we are now nearer to the conquest of nature than we have ever been. May it not be that in conquering nature, men exterminate themselves by using natural forces for evil ends?

The only way for the race to become "refined and gentle and peaceful" is not only to conquer nature, but, having conquered her, to pursue noble ends, to reverence the dignity of human life, and to glory in the beauty of the universe, giving to each human being equal opportunity with all in the enjoyment of the manifold bounties which nature provides. Otherwise, her conquest may prove not to be a blessing, but a most fatal curse.

MARJORIE HINDE.

The Connaught Club,  
136 Elgin Avenue, W.9.

## "Absolute Pacifism"

Would Mr. Leslie Wood, who uses the term "absolute pacifism" (a term very popular in your paper) inform me (and I have no doubt others besides myself are perplexed as to the meaning of the phrase) what precisely he means by the term, and in what way "absolute pacifism" differs from pacifism.

Yours faithfully,

DONALD R. S. DEY.

Ulva Ferry Inn,  
Mull, Argyle.

## International Police

In answer to Mr. Shaw Desmond's query, the objection to the so-called international police force advocated by the New Commonwealth supporters and others is that it is not a police force at all, for it would proceed not against individuals but against nations.

In the interests of peace and truth the nationalist ideology that speaks of "Germany," "Britain," &c., as of individuals should be discarded. There would be justification for a real international police detective force that would hunt down the "public enemies" who in all States provoke war, but it would first be essential to rectify the injustices that often instigate such public enemies to warlike action.

JOHN NIBB.

BM/JONIB, London, W.C.1.

## Pacifist Manifesto

ALL members must be glad to hear of the new PPU manifesto on foreign policy. Whilst I am in full agreement with all that is in the manifesto, I feel that it is a mistake to have omitted any mention of the pacifist method of meeting military violence if it should come.

Most of us have among our friends "yes-but" people. They agree with us on the moral soundness of pacifism, but before they can be with us entirely they must be able to see that pacifism, with sufficient support, would work when faced with military aggression. At present, for all the frightfulness of war, they are willing to use it and to sacrifice their own consciences for the defence of democracy, or a socialist party which had gained an electoral majority but was threatened by fascism.

The alternative seems to them to do nothing while they and their ideals are removed for ever from the face of the earth. The methods of resistance as explained in Gregg's *Power of Non-Violence* and de Light's *The Conquest of Violence* offer an alternative way of action for the defence of one's ideals, which is compatible with humanity and decency and which will be more efficient in the long run.

Efforts at economic appeasement without disarmament must carry behind them the veiled threat of war. It is obviously right to press now for action on the lines of the Van Zeeland Report as there is some hope of these ideas being adopted in the near future, and of so averting war and creating an atmosphere when the non-pacifists will be more ready to think of some measure of disarmament.

It is fairly certain that many left-wing people, once they understood the non-violent method, would be ready for complete disarmament. If we can put forward a policy which is both morally right and at the same time appeals to reason, it will be irresistible.

Some of us feel that once we can see the position to be morally right we must follow it regardless of the consequences. But there are many others who cannot take such an attitude and in fact feel it would be wrong to do so.

It seems, therefore, that we should renew our study of non-violent resistance so that we may be better able to explain it to others and will be ready to use it if the time should come.

HERBERT W. RICHARDSON.

Stoneham,  
Beech Grove Road,  
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 4.

## Holland's P.P.U.

In your issue of January 8, your correspondent from Leiden wrote that, "inspired by the PPU, a similar movement has been started in Holland."

The really similar movement—the Manifesto Movement—has existed for 22 years. The new body is a twist-and-between; if they did renounce war, they would say so, and not camouflage it as "organized violence."

The comparison does not lie between Britain and Holland, but between those who are a hundred percent pacifists and those who want to show big numbers of people indistinguishable in all essentials from those who dare not follow suit.

(Miss) ANNIE VAN DER PLAATS.

43 Bilderdijklaan,  
Rijswijk Z.—H.,  
Holland.

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## Signposts . . .

### VICTORY BY WAR

leads to

### MORE WAR

TWENTY years ago, when the aeroplane was first used on the North-West Frontier of India, military experts thought that at last they would be able to get on equal terms with the tribesmen. The aeroplane would pursue them to their remotest haunts, destroy their forts and villages, break up their "lashkars," and finally persuade them to throw in their lot with India.

What has been the result? It is true that an aeroplane or two contributed to an unstable peace with the Mahsuds in 1917; a bomb dropped on Kabul by a Handley Page in 1919 induced a desire for peace in the Afghan mind.

As against this, despite the intense use of the air arm, it took nearly two years to clear up the aftermath of disturbances left by the war with the Afghans among the tribes on the British border.

For the next ten years there was comparative peace in the tribal hinterland, but this is to be ascribed not so much to the moral effect of air attack as to the policy of the Government in constructing a network of roads in Waziristan and dominating the Mahsud hills from strategic points. The lesson was not lost on the Afridis and other tribes in the north.

The existence of a strong air force in the Peshawar district did not deter the Redshirt seditionists from establishing a reign of terror in that part of the world; it did not deter the Afridis from sweeping down into the Peshawar plain and virtually laying siege to the frontier capital for the first time since the British flag was hoisted over its battlements.

The great Mohmand tribe three or four years later provoked a major campaign in which, despite the air force, honours were easy.

Still stronger proof that the aeroplane has not brought a solution of the frontier problem appreciably nearer is afforded by the disturbances in Waziristan last year. It was necessary to employ nearly 40,000 troops before the resistance of the tribes was broken down; even yet there has been no definite settlement.

An essential element in the pacification of the frontier is to conciliate the good will of the tribesmen. Bombing breeds a feeling of resentment; men whose village has been destroyed often prolong their opposition simply for that reason.

(Sir William Barton, late of the Indian Political Department and formerly Assistant Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province, in the *Manchester Guardian*, March 9.)

## . . . from History



## MANCHESTER BAN ON "PEACE NEWS" LIFTED

**M**ANCHESTER Library Committee, which last year banned PEACE NEWS from the public libraries, has relented a little, and decided to allow this newspaper to be put in the Central Branch.

No other branches, in the city itself or in the suburbs, may yet show a copy.

It will be recalled that when the Manchester Library Committee refused, in June last year, to admit PEACE NEWS to any libraries, among the comments that were made was a leading article in the *Manchester Guardian*, pointing out that PEACE NEWS "offers a distinct contribution which no serious advocate of peace would wish to ignore."

### MORE THAN 300 OTHERS

Members of the Peace Pledge Union are not resting content with the new decision. Soon they will renew their request for the paper to be allowed in all Manchester libraries.

Since the list of libraries published a fortnight ago, we have been notified of the paper's entry into eight more libraries in Auckland, New Zealand. Together with Manchester, this brings the total up to 304.

## How to Decorate a Meeting Hall

Decoration of halls where meetings are held can be quite simple. The platform is the principal part to which you wish to attract attention.

Enthusiastic helpers may be glad to devise an appropriate background with a slogan in letters cut out of stiff white paper and pinned on to a draped or plain cloth—which should not be in a vivid colour, for the audience's eyes should not be unduly strained.

Your stall for literature needs some care in arrangement. Build it at the back with empty boxes at varying heights; cover the whole with black or coloured crepe-paper; place any notices at eye-level or above, as there may be a crush hiding your announcements.

Place the publications which are most important in compact groups of a number of copies. Also, following the practice of bookstalls, an effective display of magazines can be obtained by hanging them from a horizontal bar and down the sides of a roughly made frame near the back of the stall.

These and other useful hints are contained in a memorandum for propaganda secretaries and artists, just prepared by the Peace Publicity Bureau for the National Peace Council, 39, Victoria Street, S.W.1.

## JOINT ANGLO-U.S. NAVAL ACTION AGAINST JAPAN?

**A**RE THE U.S.A. and Great Britain getting ready to carry through a united high-pressure programme in the Far East, telling Japan how far she can go in her present policy of imperialist expansion?

This was the question posed by *The Christian Century*, of Chicago, in an article entitled "The Singapore Portent," which it published following the announcement that three American cruisers would be present at demonstrations in connection with the formal opening of the £11,000,000 graving dock at Singapore last month.

*The Christian Century*, whose protest was one of many, pointed out that only British and American warships would be present at Singapore, the French cruisers then on their way to the Far East having been left out of the demonstration.

"This Singapore demonstration," it continued, "is planned to make Japan ask: Has Great Britain been assured that, in the event of a break between her and Japan, she can count on the support of the United States Navy in the Pacific?"

Heads of the American Navy had asked in their new programme for the building of auxiliary ships before all others [actual figures appear in "Pars for the Platform"—see opposite page] which, continued *The Christian Century*, warranted the belief that naval action was contemplated at a great distance from American naval bases.

### BRITISH INTERESTS THREATENED

The writer then asked the question quoted at the beginning, and went on to refer to the strange reluctance of Britain to take up America's lead during the invasion of Manchuria in 1931, which was contrasted with her very obvious wish to secure American cooperation in active measures against Japan today.

"Why this remarkable change?" asked the *Christian Century*. "We trust we will not be taxed with undue cynicism when we point out that almost no British interests were threatened by the Japanese attack on China in 1931, and that enormous British interests are imperiled today."

Certain articles in the American press—one, for instance, in the *New York Times* on January 14—have actually discussed strategical plans for cooperation between the British and American navies against Japan. The article in *The Christian Century* referred to these and concluded:

"But it is one thing for the people of the United States to understand and sympathise with the cause of Britain's alarm, and it is quite a different thing for them to put their fleet at Britain's disposal. The Singapore demonstration makes them ask, 'Has the administration promised to do that?'"

"The people have a right to know."

## LABOUR M.P. WANTS CONSCRIPTION Premier Again Says "No"

The Prime Minister was asked in Parliament on Friday last whether he would "consider the introduction of a system of general military training solely for purposes of effective national defence."

The questioner was Mr. Tom Kennedy, Labour M.P. for Kirkcaldy, who referred to "the desirability of preventing the possibility of a professionally composed force being used either for purposes of aggression abroad or the establishment of military dictatorship at home."

Saying that the proposal appeared to contemplate "a form of compulsory military training," Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that he had already stated that so far as this government was concerned no such proposal would be introduced.

## Diary of the Week

March

19 (Sat.) BANGOR 2.30 p.m. Central School, Deiniol Road; North Wales conference; John Barclay; PPU.

BRISTOL; 2.45 p.m. Kingsley Hall, Old Market Street; Delegates Conference; "The Crisis and the Future of British Foreign Policy." Delegates fee 6d., Credentials from W. J. Parkin, 1 West Croft, Herleaze, Bristol; Bristol Peace Council.

IPSWICH; 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Miss Ruth Fry; PPU.

STOCKWELL; 3 p.m. Underground Station; meet for poster parade advertising film show (Mar. 29, Brixton Hill Methodist Church Hall). Brixton and Stockwell PPU; volunteers write Brian L. Rickett, 56 Durand Gardens, S.W.9.

NORTHAMPTON; 6 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Wellington Street; Annual Meeting; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1; 6 p.m. and 8.45 p.m. Phoenix Theatre Charing Cross Road; film premiere and concert in aid of Basque Children.

BANGOR; 7 p.m. Central School, Deiniol Road; Lady Artemus Jones (chairman); Hywel D. Lewis, and John Barclay; PPU.

19 and 20 (Sat. and Sun.) BATH; Friends' Meeting House; week-end lecture course by Harold F. Bing; PPU.

20 (Sun.) BLAENAU FESTINIOG; 8 p.m. "Ebenezer"; Lady Artemus Jones, John Barclay, Rev. G. R. Jones and Rev. Brythyn Davies (chairman); PPU.

21 (Mon.) ASHFORD; 7.30 p.m. St. Mary's Parish Room; Rev. C. Paul Gliddon on "Should a Christian renounce All War?"; PPU.

CARDIFF; 7.30 p.m. Engineers Institute; John Barclay, Canon Stuart Morris, and Dr. Alex Wood; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. University College; foundation debate; George Lansbury, Sir Terence O'Connor, and Sir Stafford Cripps (chairman); Union Society.

22 (Tues.) LONDON, N.W.1; 1.20 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; Dr. Theodor E. J. Faithfull on "The Psychology of Huxley's *Ends and Means*"; Peace Committee of London Friends.

HOLLOWAY; 8 p.m. Cooperative Hall, Seven Sisters Road; local pacifist speakers; PPU.

23 (Wed.) READING; 7.45 p.m. Large Town Hall; Dr. Alex Wood, and J. Richard C. Symonds; PPU.

KINGSWAY; 8 p.m. Wild Court; open air meeting; Methodist Peace Fellowship.

WESTMINSTER; 8 p.m. 194 Vauxhall Bridge Road; debate on "Pacifism and not Revolution as the way to remove the Causes of War"; A. Stephen Noel (chairman); PPU.

24 (Thurs.) LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10 p.m. 13. Paternoster Row; Rev. R. H. le Messurier on "Pacifism and the Church of England"; City PPU group.

LONDON, E.C.4; 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; James Gray on "The Peace Policy of the Soviet Union"; City PPU group.

SWANSCOMBE; 8 p.m. Cooperative Hall; John Barclay on "Constructive Pacifism"; S. Prestige (chairman); special music by the Choir; PPU.

HOLBORN; 8.15 p.m. Kingsway Hall, Lord Noel Buxton on "The German Claim to Colonies" with H. Wilson Harris (chairman); LNU.

SELSDON; 8.15 p.m. Church Hall; film show of *Kameradschaft* and three shorts; PPU.

26 (Sat.) BRADFORD; 3 p.m. Tokio Café; quarterly meeting of West Yorkshire Federation; tea 1s. 6d.; PPU.

HUDDERSFIELD; 3 p.m. Central Adult School, Dundas Street; conference on "Power of Non-Violence"; R. C. Wood; FoR.

BRISTON; 3 p.m.; 195 Brixton Hill; Robert Mennell on "Conscientious Objection 1916-1919"; 6.30 p.m. Dion Byngam on "The Psychology of Pacifism 1938"; PPU.

27 (Sun.) SOUTH KENSINGTON; 31 Cromwell Road; one-day school; 2.30 p.m. Rev. R. Sorensen on "Pacifism and Politics"; 6.15 p.m. Mrs. Edith Hunter on "The Present Situation in India"; PPU.

WATFORD; 3 p.m. New Regal Cinema, King Street; Donald O. Soper, Miss Ruth Fry, John Barclay, Herbert Seed, and L. C. Johnson (chairman); PPU.

BOURNEMOUTH; 3.15 p.m. Punshon Memorial Methodist Church; Lawrence Housman on "Christianity and War"; supported by Percy Ellacott and Rev. J. H. Bedford (chairman); PPU.

PETERBOROUGH; 8 p.m. Barras Memorial Hall, Park Road; Dr. Alfred Salter, Miss Mary Gamble, Anthony C. Gilpin (chairman); PPU.

### Coming Shortly.

April

2 and 3 (Sat. and Sun.) LONDON, N.W.1; Annual General Meeting; PPU. (See opposite page.)

14-19 (Thurs.-Tuesday) WESTCLIFF-ON-SEA; Easter Youth Conference; FoR.

May

14 (Sat.) NORWICH; St. Andrews Hall; delegate peace convention; George Lansbury, Lord Ponsonby, Mary Gamble, James Hudson, Dr. Alex Wood, Dr. Salter, and Wilfred Wellock; Parliamentary Pacifist Group.

19 (Thurs.) NORWICH; 8 p.m. Stuart Hall; Bertrand Russell; PPU.

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### MEETINGS

PACIFISM AND FASCISM.—March 20, 5 p.m. St. George's Vestry Hall, Little Russell Street, W.C. Opener: Magda Gellan. Pacifist view by members of St. George's. Prayers in Church (4.15 p.m.) Tea (4d.).

### PERSONAL

WILL FRIENDS take notice. The hon. organizer of the Spiritualist Pacifist Report known as Ralph Woolfstein will be from now onward called Ralph Walton. Formally declared and evidenced by a Deed Poll. A few copies of the above Report are still available and will be sent free to those interested. Apply: 217, Richmond Road, London, E.8.

### SERVICES

AS PLANNED BY DICK SHEPPARD, Celebrations of the Holy Communion take place in the Crypt of St. Paul's every Wednesday at 7.45 a.m., when prayers are offered for the renunciation of war and for those engaged in the peace movement.

### SITUATIONS

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## FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE P.P.U. Agenda and Constitution

**F**OLLOWING is the final agenda of the annual general meeting of the Peace Pledge Union to be held in Friends House, Euston Road, on April 2 & 3:—

**April 2**

2 p.m.—Appointment of Chairman.  
Appointment of Standing Order Committee.  
Welcome by George Lansbury.

2.30 p.m.—Reports.  
General Secretary.  
Treasurer.  
Groups.  
Films and Propaganda.  
**PEACE NEWS.**

5 p.m.—Adjourn for Tea.  
6.30-8.30 p.m.—Constitution.

### Resolutions

**I.** As several groups have expressed the view that the organization should continue as at present, the meeting will be given the opportunity of showing whether a constitution is generally desired or not in terms of the following:—  
"That the meeting proceed to the next business."

If not carried—

**II.** "That the Constitution as finally agreed at the first annual meeting be regarded as provisional and subject to revision at the next annual general meeting" (Woodford Green and Buckhurst Hill).

The suggested Constitution, with proposed amendments in smaller type, is as follows:—

**1.** The movement shall be called the Peace Pledge Union.

**2.** The aim of the Union shall be to secure individual signatories to the pledge, "I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another," and to promote the theory and practice of pacifism.

Reverse the order so that Clause 2 runs: "The aim of the Union shall be to promote the theory and practice of pacifism and to secure individual signatories to the pledge 'I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another'" (London N.W.1. and W.C.1. Leicester, and Upper Norwood).

Delete "promote the theory and practice of pacifism" and add "strive for the removal of the causes of war and for the creation of a world-wide brotherhood founded on the principle of mutual service" (Norwich Group).

Delete "pacifism" and substitute "non-violent resistance to war, preparation for war and all its underlying causes" (Sutton and Four Oaks Group).

Delete "to promote the theory and practice of pacifism" and add "and to promote the practice of pacifism by a vigorous policy of non-violent non-cooperation, resistance to war, and to work for the removal of the causes of war" (Birmingham Council).

Delete the words "and to promote the theory and practice of pacifism" (Jordans and District).

Add: "with a constructive policy towards this end" (Lewisham).

**3.** Membership shall be open to all signatories of the pledge, irrespective of religious belief or political attachment.

Add: "who express a desire to identify themselves with the Union and to be enrolled as members" (Horsforth Branch).

Substitute for present wording: "All signatories of the Peace Pledge shall be regarded as members of the PPU, irrespective of religious beliefs or political attachments" (Barnet Vale Group).

**4.** Members within any given district may form a group which shall have full autonomy within the policy and principles of the Union.

Add: "The officers of each group shall retire annually and the choice of new officers shall be entirely free" (N.W.1. and W.C.1. Group).

Delete and substitute: "The branches of the PPU shall be coordinated within Regional areas. The formation of new branches shall be subject to the approval of the respective Regional Committees. Branches shall encourage the formation of groups within their respective areas. Regional Committees shall consist of two members from each branch, and have power to appoint their own officers" (Lewisham).

**5.** Groups shall be coordinated by regional committees. Such committees shall consist of one member from each group within a specified region, and have power to appoint their own officers.

Substitute: "two members" for "one member" (Sheffield).

Add "and to coopt" (Bristol).

Delete clause 5 (Lewisham).

**6.** Regions shall be grouped in areas, for each of which there may be an area organizer appointed by the Executive Committee of the Union.

Delete all words after "areas" (East Grinstead).

Add: "in consultation with the area concerned" (Bristol and Lewisham).

**7.** There shall be an annual meeting of the Union, which shall elect the

following Honorary officers: a President, Sponsors, and a Treasurer; and shall receive the Annual Report of the Council.

To limit the number of Sponsors (Nottingham).

To limit the number of Sponsors to twenty (Norwich).

**8.** There shall be a Central Council consisting of (a) the Sponsors, (b) twenty members to be elected at the annual meeting of the Union, or on the nomination of any group or any two members of the Union. (c) Not more than six members to be coopted by the Central Council. The Central Council shall normally meet three times a year.

Clause 8 to run: "There shall be a Central Council consisting of twenty members (including the Sponsors) to be elected at the Annual Meeting, etc." (Nottingham).

Clause 8 to run: "The Central Council shall consist of

(a) The Honorary Officers.

(b) One Representative elected by each Region. The Council shall have power to coopt up to, but not exceeding ten percent of its Regional representatives.

The Council shall normally meet three times a year" (Lewisham).

Clause 8 to read: "twenty members to be elected at the annual meeting of the Union on the nomination of any group consisting of at least six members of the Union" (Highams Park).

Add to (b) "No paid officers being eligible for election" (N.W.9 Group).

Add "Nominations for the twenty elected members of the Central Council must reach Headquarters at least 28 days before the annual general meeting of the Union, and be accompanied by brief details of the nominee's service to the cause of peace" (Horsforth).

**9.** "The Central Council shall elect twelve members of the Union to be an Executive Committee. This Executive Committee shall have power to coopt four additional members. The policy and organization of the Union shall be vested in this Committee, which shall have control of the receipt and expenditure of the Union's funds. The Executive Committee shall normally meet once a month, and shall report to the Central Council.

Add to the first sentence: "a definite proportion of whom shall consist of working members of groups" (N.W.1 and W.C.1 Group).

Substitute: "twelve of its members" for "twelve members of the Union" (East Grinstead, Stoke Newington, Eastbourne, Jordans).

Delete: "The Union's Funds" and substitute "all monies subscribed or allocated to the Central Funds of the Union" (Sheffield).

Delete: "twelve members of the Union" and substitute "not more than twenty-five of their members" (Lewisham).

**10.** The Executive Committee shall appoint the paid officers of the Union, and fix their terms of service. It shall have power to appoint such sub-committees as it may think fit, and to delegate to these committees the functions and powers of the Executive Committee.

Delete: "and to delegate to these committees the functions and powers of the Executive Committee," and substitute: "These sub-committees shall have no executive power, but shall act in an advisory capacity" (Sheffield).

**11.** The Executive Committee shall have power to propose rules as and when necessary, subject to the approval of the Central Council.

Add: "and the Annual General Meeting" (Stoke Newington).

**12.** The agenda of the annual meeting shall be published in the official organ of the Union for two weeks prior to the meeting.

Substitute for 12 the following:

"The preliminary agenda of the annual general meeting shall be published in the official organ of the Union and also sent to group secretaries six weeks prior to the meeting. Resolutions and amendments shall be sent to the National Office not later than three weeks prior to the meeting, and the final agenda shall be published and distributed as above not less than two weeks before the meeting" (Bristol).

"Groups may submit resolutions for the annual general meeting not later than three months prior to the meeting. These shall then be circulated to all groups for consideration and amendment. The final agenda shall be submitted to groups not later than one month before the annual meeting" (Norwich and Lewisham Groups).

For "agenda" substitute "the finally amended agenda" (Sheffield).

**13.** This Constitution may be altered only by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting at the annual meeting or at an extraordinary general meeting called for that purpose.

Delete words "only" and "two thirds" (Lewisham).

**14.** The Union may be dissolved only by a two-thirds majority of the Central Council, on a resolution submitted for

that purpose, and after such a decision has been ratified by the next general meeting or special meeting called for that purpose.

Delete all words after "majority" and add "of all members present and voting at a general meeting or special meeting duly convened for that purpose" (East Grinstead).

**15.** Add a new clause: "That an extraordinary meeting of the Union may be called on the Petition of 200 signatories of the Union" (Lewisham).

**III.** "That provision shall be made in the Constitution for a Sponsors Committee, having adequate liaison with the Executive Committee, to act as a Committee of Forethought and to consider any special problems referred to it by the Executive" (Cambridge, North).

8.30 p.m.—Elections.

If the Constitution is approved, the general meeting will have to elect a President, Sponsors, Treasurer, and twenty members of the Council. It will be open to any group or any two members to propose names additional to those already circulated at or before the general meeting.

**April 3**

The morning will be free. A list of churches at which pacifist sermons will be preached will be announced. Arrangements will also be made for a bus tour of London if desired.

2.30-5 p.m.—Policy

The new manifesto and campaign.

The Van Zeeland Report.

Air raid precautions.

General discussion on policy.

**Resolution:**

**Pledge Cards.**—That the question: "Do you wish to become a member of the PPU?" be printed on all cards and literature where the Pledge is reproduced for signature (Horsforth).

**Finance**

**Resolution:** "That two auditors should be appointed to examine the accounts" (Birmingham and Lewisham).

**Budget and Question of Subscriptions**

**Resolution:** "That the Nottingham Scheme of membership and subscriptions be adopted for the whole Union" (Nottingham).

The scheme to be explained by Mr. G. C. Baldwin.

"That all signatories be invited to make a minimum subscription of 1s. per year to Group Funds, and that 25 percent of group subscriptions be sent to Head Office" (Norwich).

5 p.m.—Adjourn for tea.

6-8 p.m.—Informal discussion.

Formation of University Federation (Mr. Symonds, Oxford).

**Voting**

It is hoped that it will be possible to take the general sense of the meeting on any question without the resort to actual voting. In case, however, it is necessary to take a formal vote, delegates will be supplied with a green card and isolated members with a white. In order that the views of the groups and isolated members may be fairly assessed, green cards will count as ten votes and white cards as one vote.

## STUDENTS MAKE FRIENDS ABROAD

By Our Own Correspondent

"The state of Europe is not as bad as it looks at first sight," said Mr. A. S. R. Tweedie at a meeting of the Edinburgh International Club last Friday. In the student section of all countries, he continued, there was real international friendship and cooperation.

The National Students' Unions arranged cheap foreign holidays for students: From Iceland to Japan, hiking, riding ponies, and even camels, canoeing, ski-ing, fifty thousand students of all nations visited each other's countries in the summer holidays. The value of such friendly contacts could hardly be overestimated.

Mr. Tweedie also spoke of the International Friendship League, which arranged pen-friendships between schoolchildren of different nations. About 5,000,000 letters were exchanged annually between seventy-four countries. Friendships thus begun often lasted, and in many cases the first trip abroad of a boy or girl had been to a pen-friend's home.

## PARS for the PLATFORM

### Rising Arms Cost

**T**HE fact that total expenditure on defence over the five financial years 1937-41 will exceed the sum of £1,500,000,000 originally forecast in the White Paper of February, 1937, is admitted in the *Statement relating to Defence* issued by the Government recently. The statement adds that, according to present indications, programmes now in hand are likely to involve expenditure in 1939 in excess of the provision (£343,000,000) made in the Estimates for 1938. Mr. Chamberlain's statement on Austria foreshadowed further increases even this year.

### Naval Rearmament

**T**HE speed with which the strength of the Navy is being increased is shown by the following figures, given in the statement, of tonnage building at successive dates:—

January 1, 1935	..	139,345
January 1, 1936	..	281,925
January 1, 1937	..	375,740
January 1, 1938	..	547,014

The statement refers to the "assumption, now almost universally accepted, that the steps taken by his majesty's Government to make good our defences are unavoidable, and that they furnish a steady influence on the present state of international relations."

### What France is Spending

**F**INANCE makes and unmakes French governments. Just before M. Chautemps's ministry fell last week, the War Minister gave the following approximate figures showing how the 3,250,000,000 francs (£21,000,000) supplementary credits would be used:—

	Francs	£
Air Force	1,700,000,000	(11,000,000)
Navy	800,000,000	(5,200,000)
Army	750,000,000	(4,800,000)

Like Britain, France now proposes to spend even more.

### America's Naval Programme

**T**HE U.S. big navy programme provides for the construction of:

- 3 battleships;
- 2 aircraft carriers;
- 9 cruisers;
- 23 destroyers;
- 9 submarines;
- 5 destroyer tenders;
- 3 submarine tenders;
- 11 seaplane tenders; and
- 3 repair ships.

### Bargaining for "Peace"

**E**AGER as pacifists are for real conciliation between Britain and Italy, they will have no faith in talks undertaken in the spirit of power-bargaining shown by the following:—

It may, however, be accepted as probable that, should the new talks with Rome fail to yield the satisfactory results desired, no further time will be lost in converting Cyprus into one of the strongest air and naval bases in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Should it be decided not to proceed with the Cyprus scheme a *quid pro quo* would, presumably, be expected. Italy, it is suggested, might be prepared to undertake to demilitarize Rhodes and Leros.

—Daily Telegraph, February 22.

### Save China—Save Profits

**A**MERICA'S raw silk imports from Japan in December were fifty percent below the figures for December, 1936, reports the American League for Peace and Democracy, I P C supporter in the United States, surveying the results of its Japanese boycott campaign. American women's growing preference for lisle hose rather than stockings of Japanese silk is shown by the decision of 50 U.S. factories to manufacture the former.—Peace, March, 1938.

### Why the League fails

**P**RIDE is costly always, but national pride in armaments is the most costly and senseless pride of the world at large. Whilst this pride remains conferences and Leagues will remain a hollow mockery.

—From What is the Oxford Group?

## DON'T USE TOOTH-PASTE

Order Cinubi from Boots, Taylors or any chemist. Write Regnora Production Service, 1b Old Foundry Rd., Ipswich, for free leaflet. "New Health," edited by Sir William Arbuthnot Lane, says: "Cinubi... contains valuable bark extracts and has been found to exercise a marked deterrent effect on dental decay. Not only does it also thoroughly clean the teeth, but it strengthens the gums."

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# PEACE NEWS

March 19, 1938

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world on this number of  
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## PLAYING ON FEAR IN NEW A.R.P. DRIVE

### Fire-Engine Bell Sounds Alarm At Lack of Volunteers

#### THE PACIFIST CHALLENGE

**S**TRENUOUS efforts are being made by the authorities concerned to overcome the apathy that threatens the success of air raid precautions plans in their aim of conscripting the public and getting it used to the idea of air war.

The most notable of these efforts was Sir Samuel Hoare's broadcast on Monday night, when he appealed for a million volunteers, saying,

If we are not prepared, if our air force is weak and inefficient, if our anti-aircraft guns and searchlights are too few, if the ordinary man and woman does not know what to do in the event of an air raid, then indeed a knock-out blow might succeed.

But if the enemy knows that we are prepared, he will know also that ruthless air attacks will only strengthen our resistance, and he will think many times before he launches them.

This national appeal is being backed up by local work.

A typical instance was provided in Wood Green's crowded High Street on Saturday evening when they were surprised by the clang of a fire-engine bell (writes a PEACE NEWS reporter). But when the fire-engine came into view it was clear that this was no genuine fire call.

The men on the fire-engine were wearing gas masks, while behind the engine followed a fire brigade van carrying posters appealing for ARP volunteers.

It was no doubt accidental that Saturday happened to be a day of anxiety concerning events in Europe, but in any case it seems clear that the intention is to make people feel insecure so that they will rush to be taught what to do.

#### NO QUESTIONS ALLOWED

It is in view of these official moves that pacifists are intensifying their work of showing people that ARP means conscription.

Members of the Hackney group of the Peace Pledge Union have had further references in the press to their activity in this direction.

The North London Recorder said members of the group distributed leaflets to "the 150 disappointed would-be listeners who couldn't get into the Assembly Hall."

A member of the group declares emphatically that

1. There could not have been 150 people unable to get into the hall, as there were a number of vacant seats;  
2. There were no persons waiting outside the hall at the time that the group distributed literature;  
and strongly denies the truth of a statement repeated in the North London Re-

porter that the group was invited to put questions but did not take the offer.

#### A.R.P. OFFICER CHALLENGED

"No statement was made at any time during the meeting which could be considered as an invitation to question the ARP officer," he told PEACE NEWS.

"Taking these facts in conjunction with the similar statement which appeared in the Hackney Gazette, it would seem that there has been a conspiracy to do everything to discredit and misrepresent the Hackney group of the PPU.

"So serious a view is taken of this by the Hackney group that it has challenged the ARP officer to a debate on the efficiency of air raid precautions. Although it is not expected that the challenge will be accepted, the case against the local ARP scheme will be strengthened by any refusal to meet criticism."

#### SOUTH COAST BLACK-OUT

There will be a black-out of South Hampshire from midnight on Wednesday to 2 a.m. on Thursday.

The ARP exercise is initiated by the Commander-in-Chief, Portsmouth, and will include the whole of the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, Southampton, New Forest, and the Droxford district. It will extend from the Sussex border at Emsworth to New Milton, near Christchurch—a distance of about forty miles.

During that period certain experiments with the lighting of Service establishments will be made, and the effect of these will be observed from the air. There will not be an aerial attack, but aircraft will be used for observation purposes.

For the first time the road services organized in Hampshire will operate. The object of these services is to keep highways open during air raids, and at certain points in the country the methods devised for doing this will be demonstrated. In the towns air raid precautions will be put into operation.

### KEEP YOUR SENSE OF HUMOUR

**S**PEAKING at a supper of the Oxford University Pacifist Association last week, Mr. Richard Symonds, chairman of the association, said that one danger is that if there is another war pacifists will not be made martyrs but will be made fools of. We must let people know we have a sense of humour.

Members were warned by Miss Nancy Bell against getting hysterical.

"We are not a predominant factor in Oxford University life," she said, "but we are growing, and I hope that in the near future we shall assume a greater importance."

### NO SOCIALISM THROUGH VIOLENCE

Words used by his opponent before a military tribunal when he was a conscientious objector during the War were quoted by Mr. Robert O. Mennell in a debate with Mr. Fenner Brockway in London last week.

After disputing Fenner Brockway's contention that the problem today was simply one of throwing the capitalist class off the workers' backs, Robert Mennell went on to point out that German Nazism, Italian fascism, and Russian communism had been anti-capitalist in origin and were anti-pacifist in method.

All rallied their people to fight for justice and to give supreme power to the State over all financial and industrial interests. They were but new phases in the historic struggle for power.

Capitalism could not be dethroned by fighting it with its own method. The ideal of socialism was human unity, and the only way of bringing it about was by winning public opinion for it.

The violent method would alienate public opinion and would destroy all possibility of attaining socialism.

### INDIAN COMMUNITY FOR EAST END

With the support of Kingsley Hall, Bow, which was the official residence of Mahatma Gandhi during the Round Table Conference days, Mr. K. L. Jolly, an Indian social worker, has taken the initiative in running an Indian Community amongst the down-trodden pedlars in the East-end of London. Further particulars can be had from Kingsley Hall, Powis Road, Bow, E.3, or direct from Mr. Jolly, 107, Brunswick Building, near Aldgate East railway station.

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### STATESMEN EAGER TO LISTEN TO PACIFIST MESSAGE

From Our Own Correspondent

**H**IS experiences with Mr. George Lansbury and others in their recent conversations with European statesmen were described by Percy W. Bartlett, secretary of Embassies of Reconciliation, at a public meeting held by Newton-in-Makerfield Christian Pacifist Group last week.

Mr. Bartlett showed how these peace missions were an answer to the criticism that pacifists were merely negative in their attitude to war, and too apt to confine themselves to high-sounding, pious ideals in a world where action was imperative.

Nothing had been more striking, in the visits he had paid to the Chancelleries of Europe, than the sight of keen-eyed responsible statesmen, jealously guarding their precious time, labouring and suffering with their urgent problems, unwillingly granting interviews, yet suddenly becoming eager to listen to their visitors' clear ideas and practical suggestions for the solution of their difficulties.

#### MORE GOOD WILL WANTED

The second need was for more vital good will to take the place of mistrust and malice.

The Christian's personal testimony against war and other evils was important, and to the speaker's mind, fundamental. The need for truth and clarity of thought, disseminated by wise propaganda, was also important. But the need for active, sympathetic reaching out to the evildoer, acknowledging our own evil doing, offering reparation as to equals, engaging in active reconciliation, these were of paramount importance.

George Lansbury had been taunted: "Go and tell that to the dictators." He had done so, and had positive evidence of the value of his effort. The "embassies" had visited Italy, Germany, Spain, and the countries of the Near East. Everywhere they had found a willingness to hear their point of view, to admit its rightness, and to consider reconciliation really practical politics.

Had we no one with the courage and sympathy which would enable him to carry that message to Tokyo?

### A Gas Mask Would Have Been Useful

**L**AST November, I bored my way to School each morning through noxious London fogs. Like many others, I was fighting catarrh and cough; but I managed to keep going.

I wrote letters to the Ministry of Health, imploring them to send my gas mask by return, otherwise I should die of asthma, and never live to see another war. My requests were ignored.

The subjects in my biology syllabus include "fungi," and to demonstrate the smallness of fungal spores, one squeezes a puff-ball. I had catarrh that week. A gas mask would have been useful.

Catkins we must study. After a glorious show of catkins on every desk, so that each individual could inspect them and their pollen dust, I returned home to streaming catarrh, and bed. The next morning, the laboratory boy was exhorted to remove all catkins beyond my ken.

Oh! for a gas mask then. Protection, when dissecting specimens in formation, would be most helpful.

Should I have occasion to return to a class room when sweeping operations have begun at 4.30 p.m., I realize that all sweepers and cleaners should be provided with gas masks. But no, they remain in hiding, useless, waiting for the Last Trump!!

A TEACHER OF BIOLOGY.

### Dissatisfaction in Scout Movement

Protests against moves to enrol members of the Scout movement in ARP schemes continue to be made in various forms.

A recent article in the Rover World, asking why "there has been no effort to rope Rovers in for this essential job," led one reader to write to the editor of that magazine to point out that

it is no exaggeration to assert that a large proportion of the Rover movement is very dissatisfied with these efforts to nationalize our unique international brotherhood and to prepare us for a part in the military machine.

The editor of the Rover World, however, declared himself "entirely unrepentant," indicating that "both the Rover World and the Scouter will continue to suggest to Rovers that here is excellent opportunity for social service," although the headquarters of the Scout movement are stated to have offered no official cooperation in ARP schemes.

STOP PRESS

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